A History of Pergamum

Beyond Hellenistic Kingship

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Continuum International Publishing Group
The Tower Building 80 Maiden Lane
11 York Road Suite 704
London SE1 7NX New York, NY 10038

www.continuumbooks.com

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First published 2012

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN: 978-1-4411-1703-8

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Typeset by Fakenham Prepress Solutions, Fakenham, Norfolk NR21 8NN

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Acknowledgements

I should like to record my gratitude to the School of History, Archaeology and Religion (SHARE) at Cardiff University for making funds available which allowed me to gain first-hand knowledge of some of the archaeological sites discussed in this volume in 2009 and 2010. I am also pleased to be able to note here my continuing connection with the Department of Classics and World Languages at the University of South Africa (UNISA), Pretoria, where I am currently Honorary Research Fellow; and to Professor P. R. Bosman of that department for originally suggesting this project; and to Michael Greenwood for encouraging its completion. It also gives me much pleasure to thank colleagues at Cardiff University, especially Dr Shaun Tougher, Dr Ruth Westgate and Dr Laurence Totelin for their interest in this work and for their advice in enhancing some of the arguments expressed here. Any errors which remain are mine alone.

Abbreviations

The discussion covers a lengthy time span and hence dates BC and AD are used throughout, although in some chapters these are omitted where not absolutely necessary.

Common abbreviations are used for works frequently employed in the footnotes or works usually given in regular abbreviated form, otherwise date of publication suffices. None of these should cause confusion and any obscurities may be checked in any standard reference work.

Where maps are referenced in the discussion below, the reader should refer to D. Magie's map of Asia Minor included in his work (which has since become a standard reference) *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ* (Princeton 1950), found immediately before the Index in his Volume 2. For diagrams and illustrative material of the Acropolis at Pergamum, reference should be made to W. Radt, *Pergamon: Geschichte und Bauten einer antiken Metropole* (Darmstadt 1999), which is also now a standard work on this subject.

Preface

The purpose of this work is to allow relatively straightforward access to a subject that has long been of interest to scholars and students of ancient history and to archaeologists who have dealt with, and continue to deal with, the evidence obtained from excavation work applicable to ancient Asia Minor, and specifically the city of Pergamum.

Pergamum is far from being a neglected subject, as a cursory glance at the bibliography here and elsewhere, including easily available references via such media as the internet, well illustrates. However, what is not so easily at hand is a portal through which students, a more general readership and, indeed, fellow scholars will find a useful introduction to the entire history of this city, from its humble and rather obscure beginnings, through its famous period governed by Hellenistic kings, and thereafter as one of the chief cities of the Roman province of Asia, down to the period of the Byzantine Empire and beyond. Hence this volume attempts to combine detail from over a thousand years into a manageable form, yet also to ask pertinent questions about some of academic problems relating to Pergamum and to offer guidance for further study in this area.

The reader will note that there is a great deal of quotation of the ancient literature in English translation, but reference to the original works will allow for further research. Similarly, as much as possible, there is reference to standard works and publications dealing with recent findings from the region up to the last decade. It is not possible to claim that the arguments or conclusions here will in any sense be the last word on Pergamum, but rather that perspectives on the history of the city and the contribution of its many famous citizens are offered during the course of these chapters. Five of the chapters approach the history of Pergamum chronologically while the last chapter examines thematically the images left to us of this city, both material and human. A number of appendices and a bibliography, which will be of value to anyone currently working in this area of study, conclude the work.

Pontypridd 2011

General Introduction

Some Historical Perspectives

> Diomedes of the great war cry made for Aineias.
> Though he saw how Apollo himself held his hands over him
> he did not shrink even from the great god, but forever forward
> drove, to kill Aineias and strip his glorious armour.
> Three times, furious to cut him down, he drove forward,
> and three times Apollo battered aside the bright shield,
> but as a fourth time, like more than man, he charged, Apollo
> who strikes from afar cried out to him in the voice of terror:
> 'Take care, give back, son of Tydeus, and strive no longer
> to make yourself like the gods in mind, since never the same is
> the breed of gods, who are immortal, and men who walk groundling.'
> He spoke, and Tydeus' son gave backward, only a little,
> avoiding the anger of him who strikes from afar, Apollo,
> who caught Aineias now away from the onslaught, and set him
> in the sacred keep of Pergamos where was built his own temple.
> (Homer *Iliad*, 5.432–46, translated Richmond Lattimore)[1]

> When the army came to the Scamander River, which was the first river after they had started their march from Sardis which was drunk dry by the men and pack animals, I say that when Xerxes came to this river he went up to the Pergamum of Priam which he desired to inspect. When he had seen it and asked many things about it he sacrificed one thousand cattle to Athena of Ilium and the magi offered libations to the heroes. (Herodotus, 7.43)

The word 'Pergamum' (*Pergamos/Pergamon*) is a link in the cultural heritage which dates all the way back to Homeric Greece and the verses of the blind bard and therefore quite certainly far beyond that time as well. For Homer's *Pergamos* was the citadel at Troy (Ilium), a place around which the heroic deeds of the likes of Hector 'The Tamer of Horses' and Achilles

were fought out and where the tragedy of the Trojans was brought to its denouement. It was also a place which, throughout antiquity, retained its unique position through the fame of Homer and by its later association with both Alexander the Great and the Roman people. The name *Pergamos* became, in time, a generic term for any acropolis or citadel, but then it also became the name for one particular city, which could be translated into English something along the lines of: the city of the acropolis, the city of the Trojan acropolis, a city of citadels – in other words, the city of Pergamum.[2]

I have given the additional title 'Beyond Hellenistic Kingship' because the names or titles of all states or cities conjure up images in the mind and Pergamum is no exception. The fame of Pergamum is immediately associated with the Attalid kingship, which was, par excellence, a product of – and truly representative of – the Hellenistic Age.[3] However, when one thinks longer about the 'Pergamum kingdom', there is rather more to it than that. For after all, we are actually talking here about a place which continued to flourish long after the Attalids were gone, yet never really lost its connectivity with them. Thus the cities of Pergamum – Pergamum itself, Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis, Magnesia ad Meandrum, Magnesia ad Sipylum, Aphrodisias and many others – continued to produce and evolve images which formed and enriched the history of Asia the province and Asia Minor the region.

A work devoted to more than a thousand years of the history of a city – not to mention that of a densely populated and highly sophisticated region of Asia Minor – obviously requires some direction and plan of engagement. Note of modern works dealing with Pergamum clearly shows that scholars, for the most part, have tended to dwell either on that period down to 133 BC when Pergamum was a kingdom or on the Byzantine successor. This volume, from the sheer amount of material to be covered, is of necessity divided first into five historical chapters which are chronologically arranged and broadly devoted to events as they affect Pergamum and then what became the province of Asia after 133 BC and all its later manifestations down to the modern era. The discussion begins with the foundation of Pergamum probably as a fortified estate some time during the fifth century,[4] and then continues its coverage of the city's history as an independent state, including its period of Attalid kingship. Next the account focuses on Pergamum and the other cities of the province of Asia in their interaction with Rome and the Roman presence in the region, and how the events of the Roman Empire affected them. Finally the city's and region's history is continued through the last period of the Roman Empire,

and then its place in its Byzantine successor. In Chapter 6 there are two interrelated themes: on the one hand, there is the changing urban topography in the city of Pergamum and that of its hinterland and other urban centres; on the other, there is the image of the state and its rulers, and later as a province of Rome, as it was constructed for public consumption.

After its emergence from obscurity, Pergamum followed the well-defined Hellenic civic practice of *polis* foundation and government. From the mid-third century BC the state which began to flourish was eventually to consist of a number of immensely important urban centres, including Ephesus, Smyrna and Sardis. Pergamum was the residence of a ruling dynasty which obviously possessed an extraordinary attachment to the physical place, while at the same time encouraging the generation of wealth and cultural activity beyond that centrifuge. With the installation of Roman rule after a short period of instability the kingdom was renamed Asia and the gubernatorial residence was eventually transferred to Ephesus, more for operational reasons than any particular failing on the part of the previous capital. Notwithstanding this loss of status, Pergamum continued to maintain its importance both locally and internationally for several centuries following that apparent relegation to mere provincial city, and both the literary and non-literary sources attest to a vibrant community. The former kingdom as a whole underwent many changes and witnessed episodes of great political, social, economic and military uncertainty, with prolonged periods of distress and disruption. Yet, for all that, Asia – with Pergamum at its forefront during the Early Principate and afterwards – was one of the fundamental powerhouses of the Roman Empire. Thus while the independent period of Pergamum's history has drawn most attention and comment in modern works, and the greater part of its history falling under Roman rule and later still has become something of an afterthought, the aim here has been to contextualize the entire history of city and state. Of course, the political and military history of Pergamum down to 133 BC appears more readily in the ancient literature, while later notice of this region or *provincia* tends to focus more on cultural and religious affairs. That does not mean that the sections are totally discrete in substance, since Pergamum was in the forefront of activity both physical and cerebral of Asia Minor throughout this millennium. Therefore, the events as they appear throughout this time will be covered.

This volume is hardly the first devoted to Pergamum, which, as a subject of study in the last fifty years or so, has produced as many works as there are to other topics concerning the ancient Mediterranean world. Hansen's detailed and perceptive study (1947) concentrated on the foundation

of Pergamum and its history down to its incorporation into the Roman Empire. McShane (1964) was mostly concerned with the foreign policies of the Attalid kings during the period from the First Punic War down to 133 BC. Allen's research (1983) covers much the same chronological sweep as Hansen, but employs newer evidence especially from epigraphic sources, although his conclusions do not show great shifts in emphasis. Radt's comprehensive and continuing studies (1999 and later) cover the history of Pergamum through detailed analysis of current archaeological work on the acropolis and elsewhere, with a particular focus on the topography and urban space and the finds which have been obtained from excavation. Dimitriev (2005), Habicht (2006) and Kosmetatou (2006) are among the most recent scholars to discuss Pergamum, but their studies should be seen in the context of the publications in which they appear, which are devoted to wider subjects. No one has attempted to describe Pergamum's role in the wider Hellenistic world, nor to attempt to collate the evidence from the Greek, Roman and later times – hence from such a lengthy time span – into a single volume.

Chapter 1

A Beginning and an End

> It is neither by nature nor by justice by which men obtain monarchies for themselves but by the ability to command armies and to ably handle public affairs. This was certainly the case with regards to Philip and the Successors to Alexander. Alexander's legitimate son was not helped at all by his relationship to his father because of his weak spirit which allowed those not connected to Alexander to become kings of almost the entire inhabited world. (Suda, *Basileia*, 2)

It is certainly a paradox that this volume is about a state which came into being during the Hellenistic Age not on account of military might nor profound skill in governance, but for other quite unique reasons. Yet, for later observers, this was still a time when kingship could be won by the spear. However, in reality, the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC brought with it an end to that sort of ambition, for not only was it impossible to emulate – far less excel – that epitome of warrior excellence, as uniquely heroic as one of the characters of Homeric epic, but the rise to Mediterranean domination of 'republican' Rome also meant that the fields of battle for would-be warriors were changed forever.[1]

With an entire world of conquests to his record, quite plainly one might aspire to be an 'Alexander the Great' but never the man himself. This fact took time to settle into the minds of kings and aspirant kings who, for the most part, lacked the intellectual capacity of Alexander. For a generation, emulation of their former friend or commander occupied centre stage as the Diodochi or 'Successors', namely Perdiccas, Antigonus Monophthalmos, Eumenes of Cardia, Seleucus Nicator, Lysimachus, Ptolemy Lagus and others all sought to become the true and only heir of the Macedonian monarch. Some indeed might argue that Seleucus Nicator came closest,[2] but still the bar remained simply too high to be hurdled. And some time either after the battle of Ipsus in 301 BC or perhaps more likely after Corupedium twenty years later, it must finally have dawned on the

(by then) kings of the various successor states of Alexander's empire that everlasting fame must be sought in different ways. Successful warrior status might remain crucial in an environment where warfare was commonplace and a steady occupation, but something more had also become necessary. To be an Alexander was the impossible dream and from then onward other mortals had to be satisfied with accomplishments on a lesser scale while still fulfilling their ambitions and leaving a well-regarded legacy for future generations.

Models to emulate may have been sought, and indeed prototypes found, in the two fourth-century tyrants of Syracuse. They were never called kings, but they ruled in monarchical and warrior fashion and were concerned about bequeathing more than successes in war to posterity. Whereas Pisistratus, the tyrant of Athens from 545 to 527, had nurtured the artistic genius of the Athenians in the promotion of festivals, and Hieron I, 'king' of Syracuse, had beautified his city, and Pericles, *de facto* ruler of Athens for thirty years, single-mindedly propelled a sluggish democratic state to construct the Parthenon on the Acropolis, Dionysius I and Dionysius II promoted cultural activity as much as military campaigns in over sixty years in power. Moreover, whereas those pre-Alexander 'greats', Pisistratus, Hieron I and Pericles were not notable for their war-like qualities, their glory was assured through other avenues of endeavour.[3] Dionysius I and II were, however, both warrior kings in all but name, whose ambitions in both military and non-military spheres had varied outcomes. They may have lacked the calibre of an Alexander, but they combined more moderate talents in warfare with others elsewhere.[4] Both were well remembered, not with universal favour it is true, but at Syracuse it was such rulers – rulers with clear goals and a desire to be leave behind achievements, both physical and metaphysical – who were the paradigms of Hellenistic kingship.[5]

Across the Mediterranean, emulation of the Syracusan experiment became ubiquitous, and in none so obvious a place than Pergamum, a state which emerges from obscurity in precisely that period of uncertainty following Alexander's untimely death. The aim in the following pages is, initially, to show that the rulers of Pergamum attained and excelled in the new rules of Hellenic kingship, not only as warrior kings but also as patrons of culture, and that they too became civilizing agents throughout their world. In conjunction with the kings of Egypt, Macedonia, their neighbours in Asia Minor and especially with the kings of Syracuse, they moulded a civilization which we now define as 'Hellenistic'. Then when Pergamum became a province of the Roman Empire, the situation naturally changed, as a king was replaced by an annual proconsul or ex-magistrate sent from

the Roman senate and, later still, an appointee of the Roman emperor for over three hundred years from Italy but then from the ruler who resided in Constantinople. From about 300 BC down to the fifth century AD Pergamum remained an icon of success not only to its own citizens, but to the inhabitants of Asia Minor and beyond. A hub of arts and culture, economy and religion, it set an example not just for Hellenistic kings or the Roman elite but for our modern world as well. This chapter will set Pergamum in a historical context while acknowledging its evident potency in the Greco-Roman World.

The founders of Pergamum deserve some considerable attention because of the unusual story that is attached to the city's origin. Although there is a tale, very briefly recounted by the second-century AD writer and travelogue Pausanias, about a son of Pyrrhus, who was a son of Achilles, named Pergamus who, not very remarkably, settled on the spot which later bore his name, it is plainly a late creation and a false genealogy commonly inserted into historical accounts in antiquity.[6]

> Pergamus crossed into Asia and when he had killed Areius, ruler of Teuthrania, after they had engaged in single combat for this man's possessions he gave the name to the *polis* which still has that name today. (Paus., 1.11.2)

This episode will have formed part of a much more elaborate and detailed myth of a founder hero and his descendants. It is most likely to have been composed during the period of the Attalid kings but is now lost. It had a very definite purpose, as did all founding myths, of forging a civic spirit and pride in a communal beginning and, it must be said, of providing an excuse for religious and other festivals for the community. A heroon of Pergamus was surely built on the acropolis and annual rituals enacted in his name. Besides the fictitious Pergamus, there is no story of an outstanding individual who acted as a lawgiver to this *polis* as occurs in some Greek states, notably at Athens and Sparta where Theseus, Solon and Lycurgus played prominent roles in the constitutional foundations of their cities. Instead, the founders of Pergamum, like some of those who established the earliest overseas Hellenic settlements, were initially outcasts and were not even Greek in the strictest definition of the name.

Thus when Xenophon came to Pergamum in 400 BC he was entertained by a certain Hellas, who was (or rather who had been) the wife of a man named Gongylus.

> They (*Xenophon and other mercenaries*) marched through the Troad and, after they had crossed Mt Ida they came firstly to Antandrus and from there along the coast to the plain of Thebe. They went from here via Adramyttium and Certonon to the plain of the Caicus and arrived at Pergamum in Mysia. It was here that Xenophon was well received by Hellas, Gongylus of Eretria's wife,[7] who was the mother of Gorgion and Gongylus. She told him about a Persian named Asidates who lived in the valley and that if he was to go by night with three hundred men he would be able to capture this Persian with his wife and children and his property which was substantial. (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 7.8)

Xenophon says that, after offering a sacrifice and being advised by a seer from Elis in the Peloponnese, who happened to be present (perhaps a member of Hellas' household), he set out with at least 300 mercenaries after dusk to attack the fortified estate or tower belonging to the Persian Asidates. Arriving there about midnight, the Greeks attempted to storm the tower, but were repulsed and so tried to undermine the walls by tunnelling. Again they were foiled. At dawn they were still outside the tower when other Persians, led by a certain Itamenes, arrived to aid their compatriot. In addition to these Persians, about eighty Assyrian hoplites and Hyrcanian cavalry and in excess of 800 peltasts and others from Parthenion and Apollonia all arrived as well, alerted by fire beacons. The outnumbered Greeks were forced to retreat under fire in a hollow square formation, with a large number of Xenophon's men now wounded. He managed to arrive back safely with a good number of slaves and sufficient animals for a sacrificial feast. He was also aided in his withdrawal by the Greeks living in the area, including Hellas' son Gongylus and some descendants of the former Spartan king Demaratus.[8]

> When Gongylus saw the small number of Greeks and the great strength of their attackers, contrary to his mother's wishes he came down with his own men since he wanted to share in the affair. Procles and also Teuthranias, a descendant of Demaratus, came from Halisarne to lend their aid too. In the meantime, Xenophon's men marched on although they were under a fierce attack from arrows and sling stones and formed a hollow square to protect themselves from the missiles. With much difficulty they crossed the Carcasus River with nearly half of them wounded. They at last returned safely with about two hundred slaves and sufficient sheep for a sacrifice. (Xen. *Anab.*, 7.8)

If this is an accurate account, then it was certainly a dramatic night attack, followed by an orderly retreat the following morning. The men were wounded but they came back with lots of loot. However, can this be a credible account? Could it have taken place over such a short time scale and was it possible for Xenophon and his men to summon help from Gongylus at Gryneion or from Halisarne? Could Asidates conjure up his helpers all the way from Comana, Parthenion and Apollonia?[9] It is certainly possible, but if these events happened over a few hours then the distances involved require some scrutiny. From Hellas' fortress in Pergamum to the tower of Asidates cannot have been more than a few miles, but to summon aid on either side from twenty or thirty miles away does appear a little far-fetched. Of course, the raid may have started on one night but, because of the unexpected and stubborn resistance of the Persians, escalated into a much more protracted campaign lasting several days, including the difficult withdrawal which involved the fording of a river – perhaps the Citius, close to Pergamum.[10]

If we give Xenophon the benefit of the doubt and continue with his account, he next claims that on the following night he led a considerably larger force and captured Asidates near the town of Parthenion, whence he had removed himself hoping to avoid the Greeks.[11] Xenophon had intended that he should appear to be leading his force off to Lydia in order to confuse Asidates, but the Persian had been warned in advance by an informer at Pergamum and fled to Parthenion. The citizens of this town had, however, not admitted him and seem on that second night to have left him to his fate. That goes unrecorded by the author, whose *Anabasis* then comes to an abrupt conclusion.

This account of events in the Caicus Valley in 400 BC might easily be likened to a sort of 'Wild West' occupied by Greeks, Persians, Assyrians and others, all living in very close proximity and who were all presumably subjects of the Persian king. Some, such as Hellas and Gongylus, were plainly less enthusiastic in their loyalty than others. It is also clear that Pergamum at this time was just one small settlement among numerous others on the hills of the valley or on its flood plain. Walbank gives some indication of the sort of extent this type of settlement must have possessed when he discusses land tenure under the early Seleucids in Lydia with specific reference to an estate near Sardis.[12]

> This estate (*oikos*) contains five villages, several allotments (*kleroi*), a farmstead and various gardens, together with the peasants; there is also reference to slaves (*oiketai*), probably supervisors. (Walbank [1981], 126–7)

All these communities, which probably included Mysia and the surrounding areas such as Aeolia, the Troad, Hellespontine Phrygia, Lydia and Ionia, indulged in continual petty warfare raiding each other's lands. This ethnic division between Greek and Asian groups is clearly revealed by Xenophon. Of course, it is possible to place such a scenario into a wider context since this was a time of a breakdown in security and order. Following the Spartan victory in the Peloponnesian War in 404, the Greek cities of Asia Minor had thrown off Persian rule and the victors over Athens were obliged to come to their aid. Moreover, the failed revolt of Cyrus in 401 against his brother Artaxerxes, in which Xenophon had participated as a mercenary, had caused a rupture in the authority of the Persian central government in western Asia Minor into which the Spartans were about to step.[13] Neither Pharnabazus nor Tissaphernes, respectively the satraps of Dascyllium (also called Hellespontine Phrygia) and Lydia at that time, seems to have been able to impose anything more other than nominal control in this area. Unless this was the normal way of life in the Caicus Valley, there was – as Xenophon's text intimates before it ends noting the arrival of the Spartan general Thibron – a distinct Homeric feel to the socio-political environment: Nestor raiding cattle (*Il.*11.796[14]: 'fighting Epeans over a cattle-raid I killed Itymoneus, Hypirochus' gallant son who used to live in Elis. I was rustling their cattle in reprisal, you see, and he defending his herds …'), Odysseus attacking the Cicones (*Od.* 9.39: 'I sacked this place and destroyed the men who held it. Their wives and the rich plunder that we took from the town we divided …') or raiding in the Nile Delta (*Od.* 14.250: '… they had plundered some of the fine Egyptian farms, borne off the women and children and killed the men.').[15] This region of Asia Minor was essentially a land populated with failed Greek rulers and colonies comprised of retired mercenary soldiers, a breeding ground for instability and unrest, and real frontier territory.

While the overall tale will have a historical foundation, there are numerous suspicious topical elements, not least in the name of the hostess 'Hellas'. Moreover – and more significant – is the fact that Hellas' husband Gongylus, if the Eretrian exile of 490, was not only long since dead but had been the tyrant or ruler not of Pergamum but of Gryneion and the nearby town of Myrina, both of which are some thirty miles and more to the south west along the coast.[16] Gongylus of Eretria had received these towns from a grateful Persian king, Darius, as a reward for betraying his city to the king.[17] Therefore was Pergamum rather the personal property of Hellas, from her own family, perhaps another Greek exilic family,[18] or did it form a part of the *polis* of Gryneion, lying, it would appear from the text, at the

furthest edge of the *chorē* and in close proximity to its Persian neighbours? Xenophon unfortunately does not enlighten his modern reader with such information and is more concerned about the raid on Asidates and the wealth which could be – and was – stolen from his lands and the ransom which was to be extracted for the safe return of this man and his family. This might suggest that Pergamum began as a satellite community or *polichne* or a fort on the edge of the *polis* over which Gongylus ruled, rather in the same way that Akrai and Casmenae were founded on the frontier of Syracuse or Philae and Decelea in Attica.[19] And then only later on, because of its obvious formidable site in the matter of defence, did it acquire greater importance and outstrip its earlier metropolis. It has been argued that at a later date Pergamum no longer controlled Gryneion, at least directly, in which case a distinct rupture occurred in the rule of this region between the coast and the mid-Caicus Valley.[20] And, of course, the family of Gongylus was no longer in evidence by the time that Pergamum receives its next notice in the literary sources. This is, perhaps, not surprising, since Xenophon's account breaks off at the point at which Thibron's campaigns against the Persian satraps of Lydia and Dascylium (Helespontine Phrygia) began in 399, a war continued by the Spartan king Agesilaus down to 395/4 and which ended with the status quo being recognized; and by the King's Peace of 387/6 being formally accepted by the Greeks. The Greeks of Asia Minor therefore gained nothing from their insurgency in these years and estate owners and petty tyrants may well have lost their lands and their lives as a result of Sparta's unwillingness to defend them permanently. Pergamum may well then have been transferred to other ownership, either a Persian or a native of Asia Minor – assumedly one more amicable to Persian authority. After 399 Pergamum eludes secure notice for nearly a century. Its brief history hitherto therefore comes to a rather abrupt end.

The Persian satrap of Lydia (and Mysia) who ruled his province in the middle years of the fourth century was a certain Orontes. A colourful figure often at odds with his king and frequently in revolt, he had been a satrap of Armenia as early as 401 when he is mentioned in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, and was still active in the 350s.[21] On the basis of epigraphic evidence dated to the second century AD, it is claimed that Greek settlers were present again in Pergamum and that this settlement had a civilian administration under a *prytanis*, which might imply some form of participative government but could easily also be used for a single ruler like the more familiar tyrant or *tyrannos*. The distance of the source from the events it purports to describe gives little real indication of the sort of government other than there was a memory of Greek or Greek-style society here in the mid-fourth century. It

may also be linked to the introduction of the cult of Aesculapius, although that is perhaps a later event.[22]

When Pergamum again re-emerges from obscurity, the non-Greek or exilic origin of the latest ruler of Pergamum is again easily noticeable in the sources. It had become the residence of a 'son' of Alexander the Great and our source, the historian Diodorus, writing in the first century BC, is quite specific.

> Polyperchon [...] summoned Heracles the son of Barsine and Alexander from Pergamum who was living in Pergamum and was aged about seventeen. (Diod., 20.20.1)

In 309/8 Heracles was to be used by one of the Macedonian generals, Polyperchon as a figurehead in the latter's personal ambitions, but when offered an alliance with Cassander he promptly had the son of Barsine murdered in Epirus (Diod., 20.28.1–2). Heracles' blood line is, of course, questionable and he was perhaps more likely an individual used by the Macedonian general in his intrigues.[23] His identity is not particularly relevant here, other than for the fact that his existence shows that occupation of the site in the Caicus Valley had continued probably without much interruption, if not always by Greeks, throughout the fourth century. And if indeed he was considered to have Argead blood, then the settlement at Pergamum will, even then, have also been suitable for a member of that illustrious family.

Finally, the Pontic geographer Strabo, writing some four hundred years after these events, provides the main account in which Pergamum reappears in a new form. Alexander the Great had come and gone and the ambitions between his successors had now occupied centre stage for more than two decades.

> Pergamum was a royal treasury belonging to Lysimachus, son of Agathocles, who was one of Alexander's successors and its inhabitants occupied the summit of the mountain, which is shaped like a cone ending in a noticeable peak. Philetairos, a man of Tieum, was in charge of this fortress and its treasure which consisted of nine thousand talents. (Strabo, 13.4.1)

Notwithstanding the fact that the definition of kingship and obtaining regal power in the *Suda* is certainly not applicable to Philetairos, the most unusual fact about him – duly noted both by Strabo and Pausanias, our main

literary sources – is that he was apparently a eunuch.[24] Modern commentators have reflected rather intensively about this physical condition and label Philetairos a 'treasurer' rather than a garrison commander because his eunuch status would, they assume, have precluded a military post. He is assigned an administrative role supposedly in keeping with his inferior social and presumably sexual status,[25] but, quite clearly, this is simply an incorrect assumption, as numerous passages in the ancient literature attest to eunuchs being assigned important military duties, and not only much later in the Byzantine Empire.[26] Take, for example, the role of Dionysius in command of the warships of Mithridates VI Eupator, or Bacchus given responsibility for the killing of the king's harem in the Third Mithridatic War (Appian, *Mithridatic Wars*, 11.76–7, 12.82). Note too that Philetairos' emasculation appears not to have been for commercial purposes. A poor family might consider selling such a child and eunuchs were a much sought-after commodity, but any personal ignominy attached to the condition was avoided due to the apparent circumstances.

> In his childhood he became a eunuch because his testicles were crushed for as it happened a huge crowd had gathered for a funeral and the nurse who was carrying the infant Philetairos in her arms was caught up in the surge and the boy was mutilated in the stampede. He was therefore a eunuch but had been well educated and so considered worth trusting. (Strabo, 13.4.1)

Pausanias, writing nearly two hundred years later, again adds some significant detail, although he focuses on Lysimachus, to whom he devotes at this point a brief biography, but notes at once the non-Greek origin of this Philetairos.

> A Macedonian named Docimus, formerly one of Antigonus' generals, who later surrendered himself and his command to Lysimachus, had a Paphlagonian called Philetairos. (Paus., 1.8.1)

Pausanias is more concerned about the role of Philetairos in a brief resume of the life of Lysimachus, but seems to point to his subject's background as being non-Greek. Docimus disappeared from this command, and Philetairos was promoted and held this position for a number of years before 282/1. However:

> Philetairos who was placed in command of the money of Lysimachus, upset by the death of Agathocles and suspicious that he might suffer

> a similar fate by Arsinoe seized Pergamum on the Caicus and sent a messenger offering the property and himself to Seleucus. (Paus., 1.10.4)

Is it possible – even more curious than being a eunuch commander set over presumably an essentially Greek garrison – that Philetairos was not himself a Greek? He is credited with a Macedonian father named Attalus and a Paphlagonian mother whose name is recorded as Boa. His brothers were named Eumenes and Attalus, while Philetairos, meaning 'Lover of Friends', is a name suspiciously appropriate for a eunuch and so perhaps not his original name.[27] His place of birth is generally considered to have been Tieum, a city in that region lying between Bithynia and Pontus known as Paphlagonia, which encompassed largely a coastal strip governed by the Persians after their conquest of the Lydian kingdom in about 545. It lay west of the Halys River and a part of the satrapy of Phrygia. Strabo has nothing to say about the city.

> Tieum is now a small town and has nothing of particular note other than having been the place of birth of Philetairos who founded the dynasty of the Attalids. (Strabo, 12.3.8)

In the post-Alexander world, Paphlagonia was to become a bone of contention between the kings of Bithynia and Pontus and its inhabitants never succeeded in obtaining independent status, probably because its cities were few and far between and insufficiently powerful. This, too, requires some attention, since what was a Macedonian doing in this backwater of the Black Sea littoral in about 343 – a date of birth regularly ascribed to Philetairos?[28] Of course, a Macedonian might, in this decade, have settled in Tieum on account of business interests or even as a result of exile; however, it is surely much more likely that the father of Philetairos was one of many soldiers who were placed in garrisons throughout Asia Minor following Alexander's victory at the Granicus River in 334.[29] This would mean that Philetairos was born shortly before 330, when this man Attalus was installed in his new post in Paphlagonia. A Paphlagonian mother is therefore quite explicable in these circumstances, rather than the wife of a metic or exile from Macedonia.[30]

The size of the treasure over which Philetairos had charge – although not enormous when compared with those bullion stocks held in other cities or fortresses in Asia[31] – must have been of some importance to Lysimachus. Interestingly, he did not keep these funds, whether bullion or precious stones or metals, closer to his base in Lysimacheia, but at some

distance in recently acquired territory. It was considerably more than the 1200 talents held at Cyinda in Cilicia which was looted by Demetrius soon after Ipsus (Plut. *Dem.*, 22) but which, like the reserves at Pergamum, were originally Persian and perhaps satrapal revenues. These stores of precious metals were presumably placed at vantage points to pay troops who were, by now, regularly mercenaries rather than citizen militias and expected prompt and reliable payments. This would also indicate that forts such as Pergamum and Cyinda also contained minting facilities to produce the huge numbers of coins required, one imagines, often at short notice. It should also be noted that Pergamum's mint continued to function for much of the Hellenistic and Roman periods and clearly, in so prolonged a time span for an individual factory, acquired no mean reputation for good quality production.[32] In later times such centres also came, almost naturally, to be centre for the collection of tribute as well.

Also, was Philetairos really propelled into Seleucus' camp by the murder of Lysimachus' son and the possible hatred of his king's wife, or was it that he had already been negotiating with Seleucus? What were Seleucus' movements in 282/1? The sources suggest – though they downplay the contention – that Philetairos' action led directly to the battle at Corupedium at the beginning of 281.[33]

> Lysimachus learning of these things took the initiative crossing over to Asia and began the war with Seleucus in which he was badly beaten and killed.[34] (Paus., 10.4.5)

Strabo's account, though brief, appears in direct contradiction to that provided by the later Pausanias.

> Lysimachus had troubles in his household and had his son Agathocles killed, Seleucus Nicator attacked and destroyed him and was himself killed through the treachery of Ptolemy Ceraunus. (Strabo, 13.4.1)

However, although the site of Corupedium is not known except that it was in western Asia Minor and perhaps near Sardis,[35] it suggests that Lysimachus was at least as active as Seleucus in the region at this time. Lysimachus and Seleucus were roughly the same age, eighty and seventy-seven respectively in 282/1. Lysimachus had unwisely contracted a marriage to Arsinoe, daughter of Ptolemy Lagus, sometime after Ipsus; Seleucus had married another daughter, Stratonice. In the case of Lysimachus there were new heirs and the senior heir, Agathocles probably felt threatened, as did

Arsinoe. Lysimachus could not live forever and jostling for the succession had evidently begun when Agathocles, probably accused of plotting, was murdered by the same Ptolemy Ceraunus who later assassinated Seleucus as the king was proceeding to Lysimacheia in mid-summer 281. In such family infighting no senior figure in the kingdom was safe and loyalty to one or other faction sets the background to Philetairos' apparent defection to Seleucus. And Philetairos was confirmed in his position not as an independent state but as a fortress within Seleucus' newest conquests; Pergamum's situation changed with the Syrian's king's subsequent murder.

There is a still broader picture to take account of here. After the battle of Ipsus and the death of Antigonus and the flight of his son Demetrius, their kingdom was divided among the victors. Lysimachus received the Antigonid lands west of the Halys River and Taurus Mountains while Seleucus obtained eastern Anatolia and the Levant. So, from 301, cities such as Heracleia in Pontus and Sardis fell under the control of Lysimachus, including the fortress on the hill of Pergamum over which Philetairos was placed in command. The treasure contained here was therefore probably originally Antigonid, if not Persian. And for nearly two decades there seems to have been relatively stable, if not exactly peaceful, conditions in Asia Minor. Lysimachus was even able to march overland to the Taurus in pursuit of Demetrius in about 287 without incurring complaints from his Seleucid neighbour (Plut. *Dem.*, 47). So it appears that Seleucus only occupied western Cilicia when he made effective Demetrius' detention near Tarsus and subsequent detention at Antioch.[36] Thus Seleucid claims for nearly a decade and a half after Ipsus as to possession of Asia Minor only extended from the eastern side of the Taurus and northwards into Armenia and perhaps the south east Black Sea regions. However, Seleucus harboured greater ambitions and, according to Memnon, decided to move against Lysimachus after he heard about the murder of Agathocles, the king's eldest son about 283/2, which had caused civil unrest to break out in his neighbour's kingdom, and indeed a destabilizing factor which an invader could well take advantage of. It may be that dissatisfaction with the ruling house prompted Philetairos to change allegiance after so long, but, with the treasury in his safekeeping, he may also have been a prime target for any Seleucid intrigue to oil that move. It is worth noting that Corupedium is said to have been near Sardis and therefore not that far from Pergamum either – perhaps no more than a day's journey.[37] Sardis was of obvious strategic importance to any invader, but Pergamum, too, had its very obvious attractions. Seleucus' army was presumably moving either along the coast or by the former Persian route called the 'Royal Road'

towards Sardis and ultimately towards the Troad and the Hellespont. While advancing through Lydia Seleucus must have encountered Lysimachus' forces moving inland. We do not know if Sardis had already fallen to Seleucus or whether Lysimachus, who had used Sardis as a base before, set out from there to intercept the invaders. Pergamum would have been bypassed if by then in hostile hands and it is certainly possible that the inability to obtain funds from his treasury made Lysimachus' cause that much weaker and his troops less loyal and more liable to switch allegiance, as had occurred with his forces prior to the battle of Ipsus in 301 (Diod., 20.112–113).

Details of this engagement are surprisingly scant, if not exactly absent,[38] but the result of Corupedium had far-reaching consequences for the Hellenistic East. The battle may not have been the seminal event that Ipsus surely was in that it destroyed the ambitions of Antigonus to being the sole successor of Alexander. Nonetheless it was momentous in the history of the Mediterranean, since it ended a kingdom centred on Thrace and thence settled the East into three major powers. Indeed, for Pergamum – although Seleucus' victory may possibly not have been initially completely favourable – it provided the situation out of which a new kingdom could emerge. We are not told, for example, whether or not Philetairos retained his treasure. Indeed, his position as commander might well have been jeopardized by the death soon after the battle of Seleucus himself in Thrace. Again the sources relate that the ashes or body of the former king were rescued by Philetairos and returned to his heir Antiochus I.

Yet Philetairos ruled Pergamum for another twenty years. His title was that of dynast or tyrant and he was really small fry in the wider political world of the time. And yet again, one must be a little wary of Philetairos, since he evidently had ambitions, even if these were not fulfilled in his lifetime. His coinage prior to 281 is largely anonymous, but according to the accepted chronology of Pergamene issues for this time in the 160s he issued silver with an imposing bust of Seleucus, his former overlord, on the obverse; yet significantly it is Philetairos' own name which is proclaimed on the reverse and which is written adjacent to Athena, the military deity and patron of many Greek states. But can she also have been the patron of a eunuch? Stranger still is that having a eunuch as dynastic progenitor might be regarded as a derogatory feature, yet the Attalid kings continued to celebrate the life and achievements of Philetairos throughout the life of the kingdom, not least on the coinage, where his name is often featured, and with games, sacrifices and cult status – all highly unusual for his status. Moreover, on the coins of his successors Philetairos – if it is indeed

his image (and that is the consensus) – is regularly portrayed diademed. The Attalids from Attalus I became kings, but not Philetairos the eunuch – a eunuch monarch is certainly unique and the coinage of Pergamum certainly starts to look precisely that.[39] During those two decades before his death Philetairos seems to have consolidated his position in Pergamum, although since it was probably no longer a treasure store it had more likely returned to a settlement rather like that originally described by Xenophon, and as yet not a great or cosmopolitan city.[40]

An inscription from Temnus, which lies on the coast of Aeolia near Aegae, records a grant of *isopoliteia* or joint citizenship to be shared between its citizens and those of Pergamum.[41] It is likely that this represents one of the earliest moves by Philetairos, or even a predecessor, to enhance his position in the region, not simply by having an alliance with another *polis* but by increasing his influence. If the grant is illustrative of rank and power, it suggests that Pergamum too was then no more powerful than this rather insignificant Aeolian city in this period.

The successor of Philetairos was Eumenes, about whom there is barely more than a mention in the literary sources and who cuts a very shadowy figure as a result. His one claim to military fame is recounted by Strabo, who credits him with a great victory in battle over Antiochus I, but this assertion should strike one as a little suspect and is worth some discussion.

> Philetairos continued to be master of the fortress for twenty years.[42] He had two brothers Eumenes the elder and Attalus. Eumenes had a son called Eumenes who succeeded to the estate of Philetairos and then controlled the lands around Pergamum and he defeated in a battle near Sardis Antiochus, son of Seleucus, and died after ruling for twenty-two years. (Strabo, 13.4.1–2)

First of all, how was it that this minor ruler of land confined only to the central portion of the Caicus Valley was able to cause a major setback in Asia Minor to the Seleucid monarch whose resources far exceeded his own? And secondly, what was Antiochus doing in this part of Asia Minor? Thirdly, why was this Eumenes near Sardis, which was well outside his own limited territory? Let us return to Xenophon for a moment – since his evidence is instrumental here – who gives quite remarkable figures for the armed men available to the family of Gorgion and Gongylus and their opponents in the Caicus Valley nearly a century and half before Eumenes ruled in Pergamum. Xenophon states that he himself led just three hundred Greek mercenaries from Pergamum to attack Asidates

(*Anab.*, 7.8) and six hundred local men who offered their services in the hope of sharing in the plunder were turned away. However, when Asidates successfully withstood an assault on the first night with his own household, in the morning help arrived in the form of a fellow Persian, Itamenes, with unspecified numbers, but eighty cavalry from Comana, and about eight hundred peltasts (probably locally recruited peasants) from Parthenion and Apollonia. The Greeks now appear to have been so heavily outnumbered that they had to retreat but, says the author, in an orderly fashion with a great deal of plunder. The following night the Greeks went out again in much larger numbers and captured Assidates and his family near Parthenion, having, it seems, this time been deserted by his allies who do not appear to have allowed him entry into their town, while the Greeks probably had additional support perhaps from Gongylus. The Greeks obtained useful plunder and Gongylus probably extended his control further afield while Assidates was probably restored to his estate after a ransom was paid. This was probably a common feature of life in the region, but which was shaken by the subsequent campaigning of the Spartan Thebron and later Agesilaus in Ionia against the Persians. Sadly, the fate of Hellas and her sons or the other Greeks in such an unstable socio-political environment is not recorded.[43]

The military forces engaged in fighting in the vicinity of Pergamum at that time were therefore hardly much larger than war bands or even robber gangs. Rather more than a hundred years later, a Seleucid king had huge numbers of troops at his disposal if he was undertaking a military campaign. At Ipsus in 301 it is claimed that over 150,000 infantry and cavalry were drawn up by the belligerents,[44] including Seleucus, who then had an army in excess of 30,000 (Diod., 20.113–14), and later Seleucids could muster 50,000 men for their armies with ease.[45] However, Eumenes had far fewer resources to call upon and therefore far fewer men with whom to form a substantial military force. This not only highlights the uncertainty of Strabo's claim but also of what might ultimately have been recorded. A great victory attributed to Eumenes by his own court historians may not, in fact, have been regarded as such by his Seleucid vanquished. Indeed, ancient propaganda may be present in the text here and it may be that the engagement was a rather petty affair, and may not even have involved Antiochus I. However, the literary evidence gives an indication that Eumenes was victorious in battle over a Seleucid king named as Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, and this is probably Antiochus I who had ruled since 281 rather than his successor of the same name who succeeded in 261.[46] Strabo (13.4.2) specifies the Seleucid king, but

the dates are rather tight here, and although Allen finds it compelling to place this as the start of Eumenes' rule when perhaps there was some doubt about his ability following the death of his predecessor, the place of battle points to an offensive action by Pergamum, not defence. The battle is said to have occurred near Sardis and, if that is accurate, it points to some movement by Eumenes away from the Caicus Valley. Was he in a position to do this against the power of his erstwhile hegemon, from whom he had presumably broken his allegiance? It is worth noting that the elder Antiochus is remembered as a mostly successful ruler, while the younger is not. The much older and more experienced Antiochus I would likely not have risked a campaign in response to Pergamum adventuring, whereas his successor would have been much more enthusiastic about gaining military laurels and more likely to suffer a defeat. From this defeat Eumenes may not have gained that much apart from recognition of his status as ruler, and it could well be that he therefore established his credentials by the spear at this point to ownership of some part of the valley.

If Antiochus was campaigning in western Asia Minor at this time, what was he hoping to accomplish? With the exception of the Galatian tribes, the region required less attention than other parts of the Seleucid Empire, and Antiochus had already been a successful ruler for two decades. It is possible that he was aiming to regain the Thracian lands west of the Hellespont which his father had briefly won from Lysimachus, but no source offers a clue to his intention. Still, his military resources were infinitely greater than those of some obscure local grandee in the Caicus Valley. Yet he appears to have lost a battle. It may be that Eumenes, who had only very recently succeeded to power, was in a rather stronger position than former residents of the area and was thus able to command his own troops and hire large numbers of mercenaries to whom he could then assign land. This may appear to have been the case, although whether these settlements were that substantial in the third century BC is not attested.[47] Such settlements, in any case, cannot have been that large, since they would have been costly to finance and Pergamum would surely not have possessed the revenues needed to not only buy and pay mercenaries but also to secure their long-term allegiance through the assignment of permanent land tenure. Pergamum was clearly not a market in the movement of goods in Asia Minor, so its resources were limited, at least initially. So how could Eumenes have inflicted such a serious defeat on a ruler with many times the military capability enough to be able to gain not only territorially but – perhaps more significantly – to allow him psychological and physical space? There seems to have been no counter-attack; it is true that Antiochus died

within a year or two, but his heir had encountered no opposition so could have been free to launch measures against Pergamum, gain some military glory at the start of his reign and enhance his popularity. That he did no such thing – at least which is recorded – is very puzzling.

Indeed, this calls into question the entire episode, since Strabo (13.4.1) alone mentions this, and the only other source adduced to refer to such a battle is a summary of Phylarchus in the *Suda*.[48] But this second literary item is very vague and refers only some unidentified event between 'Antiochus and Eumenes' without context or date, and could just as easily refer to Antiochus II or even Antiochus III and Eumenes II. In fact, such is the obscurity of this battle that it may well be better solved as not being a war at all, but rather an extension in the power of the first Eumenes through not merely a tacit approval but active support from Antiochus I. There is no reason to suppose that, after twenty years of loyalty to Antioch, Eumenes should have overturned previous alliances within such a short time once he became the ruler of Pergamum, when these alliances had already been beneficial to his family. And there was no reason for Eumenes to plunge this region into a period of instability from which he could and should not have emerged victorious. No instability appears to have occurred, which again points to Strabo's evidence not being quite accurate and which can be discounted in this instance. To give Strabo some credit, it may have found its way into Pergamene sources from the time that Pergamum became an ally of Rome, a source which was keen to show Pergamum's earlier hostility to Syria, but which was largely the invention of such a writer, and which was taken at face value by Strabo. Strabo is sometimes unsure of his material and here it is possible that the famous victory of Eumenes II over the left wing of the army of Antiochus III at Magnesia which was instrumental in the Roman success may have been projected back to fill out the otherwise empty years of the earlier Eumenes' rule.

It has been argued, on the basis of inscriptional evidence, that as a result of his success in battle Eumenes acquired some sort of control over the town of Pitane on the coast and hence some territorial expansion beyond the lower Caicus. However, as Allen argues, any real growth in the size of the state was really rather limited in this period, especially when the Seleucid maintained their presence at Aeolian Myrina, on the coast between Cyme and Phocaea, and Gryneion, which was situated just south of Elaia, later the harbour for Pergamum.[49] Actually, it makes much more sense to see this as a state of peaceful coexistence rather than some measure of independent action extracted from a weakened foe. Antiochus was not a beaten enemy and the chequerboard state of Seleucid and Pergamene possessions

throughout Mysia and Aeolia points to the state of affairs as suggested here and is not symptomatic of any decline in the former at this juncture.[50]

Of course, there was some decline in Seleucid fortunes after the death of Antiochus II in 246, but the turbulence in the kingdom had nothing to do with Pergamum and initially had no effect on that region. In fact, if anything Seleucid power was bolstered, since Sardis became the court of Laodice, first wife of Antiochus II,[51] and her two adult sons, Seleucus, who succeeded as king after a brief spell of civil war, and his brother Antiochus Hierax. Antiochus' second wife Berenice controlled Antioch for her son for a short time before both were murdered by partisans of Seleucus II. However, he was unable to return to Syria because Ptolemy III, Berenice's brother, invaded and took Antioch in revenge for her murder. The choice of Sardis for the royal court clearly indicates that Pergamum cannot have been hostile at this stage, since the cities lie in such close proximity to one another, especially if we are asked to believe that Pergamum under Eumenes had a military capability to equal his neighbour.

Seleucus quickly won back Antioch and his kingdom east of the Taurus Mountains as Ptolemy, diverted by rebellions in Egypt, was forced to return home, leaving behind an army commanded by generals lacking either the same enthusiasm or ability for conquest. These, too, withdrew south, leaving Seleucus to follow up his success with an invasion of Egyptian territory in Lebanon (Coele-Syria). He had left his younger brother as ruler of the Seleucid lands in Asia Minor, and Antiochus Hierax, as ambitious as Seleucus, was given a free hand west of the Taurus. When the king suffered a reverse in Palestine he asked for aid against Egypt and Antiochus responded positively. With the establishment of peace in 242/1, however, the two brothers became estranged (Justin, 27.2.7), and Antiochus, with his mother – his most ardent supporter – now made Sardis their capital. Seleucus moved into Asia Minor in an attempt to oust Antiochus from his power base but was defeated near Ancyra in about 240 (Justin, 27.2.9). Antiochus was, however, unable to follow up this victory, since this had been achieved with support from Mithridates, the king of Pontus, who turned against his former ally. Thus both Seleucid brothers were weakened and, according to Justin (27.3.1), our sole source for the period, Eumenes fully exploited this situation,[52] although precisely what he can have achieved is not stated. Moreover, there is clearly some confusion about this episode, since the battle, if it occurred in 240 or later, happened after Eumenes' death. The reference by Justin therefore probably refers to Eumenes' successor, his cousin Attalus.

Eumenes had been a king in everything but name. In modern accounts he is often credited with the neutral title 'dynast', although this is

meaningless.[53] The obvious parallel to draw is with Andromachus of Tauromenium, father of the historian Timaeus, who was plainly a tyrant but designated 'the leading figure' in his *polis* mainly because he appears to have been a most benign ruler. At least, Andromachus retained his position unaffected when Timoleon from Corinth, having overthrown tyrannies elsewhere in Sicily in the 340s, then ruled as a benign tyrant himself from Syracuse.[54] Attalus I, on the other hand, had no compunction at all about proclaiming himself king, following the successful outcome of a battle with Gallic tribesmen from Galatia, and with this declaration he ushered in a little more than a century of formal kingship at Pergamum, bringing all its regal trappings and everlasting fame to this city.

> Be brave-hearted! Man with the bull's horns, you shall have the honour of kings.
> You and your children's children, but of these children no more!
> (Delphic oracle to Attalus, Diod., 34/35.13)

Attalus I (241–197) reigned for over forty years, in momentous times both for the entire Mediterranean World and for Pergamum too; and it was during these years that an identifiable state which exceeded the immediate *chorē* starts to become truly apparent. Whereas Philetairos and Eumenes had exercised somewhat limited control beyond the immediate vicinity of the hill of Pergamum but may have possessed a patronage or hegemonial influence in towns such as Pitane, what is evident is that this was no unified state in a geographical sense. The urban area of Pergamum would always have possessed sufficient arable land to feed its population and this must have extended as the inhabitants increased. However, it is clear that this did not amount to much – say, five to ten miles beyond the walls of the citadel. It is also clear that satellite communities containing Pergamene citizens or allies were not necessarily linked physically by Pergamene lands to the metropolis. The *polis* prior to Attalus' succession, therefore, constituted a traditional Hellenic *polis* but with a number of additional discrete settlements. After 241 there was witnessed both radical advances and also some severe reverses which nearly threatened Pergamum's entire existence.

Attalus, unlike Eumenes and Philetairos, is Pergamum's first ruler of substance, in that not only does he feature regularly in the surviving accounts of histories of the period in which he lived, but he was obviously a ruler of considerable ability in both the military and diplomatic spheres and thus ensured that his kingdom not only enjoyed some territorial expansion and but also was recognized as a force to be reckoned with

in the region. His victory over the Gallic tribesmen, the Tolistobogii, was perhaps not a foregone conclusion (Polyaen, 4.20) and his remarkable success certainly gave him warrior status far beyond that possessed by his predecessors (Strabo, 13.4.2). It is likely that winning this level of warrior status, even if only against neighbouring tribes, enabled him to declare his right to kingship.[55] Since it was the immediate prelude to his assumption of the diadem, this event must be dated to between 241 and his later conflict with Antiochus Hierax, the brother of the Seleucid king Seleucus II. Any account of the engagement – most certainly contained in the histories of the royal court – has been lost and we are left with the rather vague assessment of Polybius (18.41.7) about Attalus' virtues, which was copied by Livy (33.21.3). Livy, again probably using Polybius as his source (38.16.4) suggests later, however, that the victory of Attalus may not have been quite as decisive as the Pergamene ruler might have liked to portray. However, it should also be remembered that Livy is describing the successful campaign of Cn. Manlius Vulso (cos. 189) against the Galatians during the summer of 189, who claimed a triumph for his successes here and clearly would have wished to portray the enemy as formidable as they were to Attalus half a century earlier. Polybius, by far the best source for events in the eastern Mediterranean at this time, seems not to have been greatly concerned about the events in Asia Minor, and so there is less evidence to be gleaned from his account than there is for events elsewhere, such as in Syria and Egypt.

Still, it is clear (Pol. 5.77.2–5) that in 218 Attalus held very little more territory than Philetairos had possessed sixty years before. Achaeus, cousin of Antiochus III, who had established himself from 222 as independent ruler of Asia Minor west of the Taurus Mountains with his capital at Sardis, was both an energetic ruler and capable general. His activities illustrate that he intended not only to extend his territory but also aimed to display his ability and hence his position as a realistic contender for sole power in the kingdom. As such, he campaigned in southern Asia Minor against Selge in Pisidia and, having brought this area under his control, he set his sights on Pergamum. Attalus, in preparation for this new bout of warfare, set out to win over allies. It is where he is said to have visited in person that is of interest. Polybius says that he went initially to Aeolia, where the towns in this region mostly became allies – some from previous arrangements, others from fear of Achaeaus, and still others through force. Polybius names Cyme, Smyrna, Phocaea, Aegae and Temnus, and states that these were probably new allies. Moreover, envoys went to Attalus from Ionian Teos and Colophon requesting an alliance, and he also enforced the

compliance of Carseae, a town on the River Lycus.[56] Thus it is quite clear that the borders of Attalus' territory did not yet stretch south of the Caicus Valley, especially since Achaeus was so firmly established in Sardis.

It is especially notable that Attalus could clearly not count on these towns and cities as automatic allies and that he had to lead his army in person and visit each district, in some cases threatening force or taking hostages (Pol., 5.77.6) in order to obtain the required treaties. He evidently also did not venture into Ionia, from where ambassadorial groups arrived and notably not from Miletus. Smyrna is noted, however, as a *polis* consistent in its friendship with Pergamum. That Carsaea, immediately on Attalus' doorstep, needed to be persuaded by a show of force again indicates the limits of his rule, and suggests that he engaged in some plundering of territory probably allied to Achaeus in this area.[57] Polybius also points out that Attalus even had trouble with some of his Gallic mercenaries who were not inclined to venture too far, especially after there was an eclipse of the moon. In order that these men would not transfer their allegiance, probably for better pay, to Achaeus, Attalus led these back to the Hellespont – they had apparently recently crossed from Thrace – and settled them on land here.[58] Envoys or letters from Lampsacus, Ilium and Alexandria Troas also reached him with assurances of continued support. The Gauls were therefore not settled anywhere close to these established centres.

> Attalus having led back the Aegosagae to the Hellespont, and made friendly arrangements with the people of Lampsacus, Alexandria and Ilium because they had remained faithful to him, he went on with his forces to Pergamum. (Pol., 5.78.6)

In 218, at the start of hostilities between Carthage and Rome, Attalus was certainly not a great king with an expansive territory. Indeed he possessed only what he could visit in person over a number of days rather than weeks or months. And it is striking that, contrary to usual practices, he did not use intermediaries in this action, and possibly not on a regular basis, again pointing to the individual nature of his rule. Here was no complex system of governance, but rather the lord of his manor visiting the boundaries of his lands and connecting with his neighbours, who were not always friendly and obliging.

If we read between the lines, it is also hardly in the realm of international politics when we next hear of Attalus in Polybius. Antiochus had returned north from his defeat at Raphia in 217 at the hands of a Ptolemaic army

and determined instead on regaining those lands which his cousin Achaeus had expropriated and in which he had proclaimed himself king. Polybius gives the impression (5.107.4) that, prior to the actual start of any military activities, Antiochus had sent envoys to Attalus in which they agreed to be allies. Attalus was to attack Achaeus in conjunction with Antiochus' advance from Cilicia. However, this was no treaty of equals. Antiochus had a large army at his disposal (probably in the order of 50,000 infantry and cavalry) but he may have been lacking depth in his naval wing, which Attalus may have been in a position to augment.[59] However, most of the attack on Achaeus would have presented itself on land; the object of any advance here was the seizure of Sardis, so Attalus' role would have been that of subsidiary commander. He could have attacked Achaeus' rear from the Caicus Valley and he could have blocked any help Achaeus might have summoned from any allies he possessed in Aeolia or in the Troad, but this cannot have been substantial and none is mentioned. In the end, Antiochus' move seems more guided by ensuring that Attalus did not join Achaeus against him, rather than attaching to himself an ally of substantial means whose role would have been crucial in overcoming the enemy. Still, if Polybius' words fairly reflect his source, Attalus seems to have made the best of this treaty of friendship, casting it as one between equal kings – note the prominence of 'basilieia' in the historian's reference to Attalus – and may well have been energetically promoted in the Pergamene court propaganda of then and later.

Attalus had little to do in the war which ended quite rapidly as support for Achaeus fell away,[60] but it served to enhance his status as monarch – and a monarch who was soon to league himself with the Romans rather than with Seleucid Syria, which was to become his adversary. And it was the war between Rome and Carthage between 218 and 201 BC which brought untold benefits to Pergamum.

Chronology

400	Xenophon in Pergamum. Gongylus ruler of Myrina
310	Heracles, son of Alexander and Barsine, summoned from Pergamum to the Peloponnese by Polyperchon
301	Battle of Ipsus in Phrygia
282/1	Battle of Corupedium near Sardis. Deaths of Lysimachus and Selecus Nicator
281–263	Philetairos ruler of Pergamum

263–241	Eumenes I ruler of Pergamum
262/1	Eumenes defeated Antiochus I
241	Attalus succeeded Eumenes I at Pergamum
240/38	Attalus I assumed the diadem after his defeat of Galatian tribes
223	Succession of Antiochus III in Antioch
222/16	Achaeus in control of Asia Minor
213	Fall of Sardis and death of Achaeus

Chapter 2

The Ally of Rome

Βασιλεὺς Ἄτταλος τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον
ἀγώνων χαριστήρια Ἀθηναῖ

King Attalus
dedicates this thanks-offering to Athena,
having fought hard in battle.[1]

Modern scholarship has a tendency to view the diplomatic moves of Attalus in the last two decades of the third century BC as somehow demeaning to his status and to that of the Greeks in the East generally. Much of this attribution is, of course, false and rather to do with the prevalent views, certainly in the late nineteenth century, of Greek cultural superiority over the Romans. Hence any sign that the Greeks actively sought contact with Rome was regarded as a devaluation of this civilization and almost a barbarization of the Hellenic ideal. This is a somewhat naive assessment of the realities of the political interaction between states then or now and avoids the recognition of pragmatism as a way of survival, whether in the East or elsewhere. Power politics are in constant evolution – some, indeed, would argue for a perpetual anarchy in the Ancient World[2] – and there is some truth in this perspective when observed with the benefit of hindsight. Yet some measure of common sense and diplomatic skill was necessary to survive even in the Hellenistic World; and for the Hellenistic king to maintain his position and perhaps even thrive he needed perspicacity and the ability to keep ahead of the pack. This certainly aptly describes the foreign affairs of Attalus after the threat from Achaeus had passed and he had reached an accommodation with Antiochus III who, once in secure control of his territory in Asia Minor in 213, had been called away to deal with pressing problems in his eastern satrapies.[3]

The Greeks and the Romans did not function on different cultural levels, with more in common than not. Moreover, Attalus was certainly not

the first Hellenistic monarch to seek friendship with Rome since Ptolemy II Philadelphus had sent an embassy to the Roman senate traditionally dated to 272, more than fifty years earlier. Various cities in eastern Greece and Epirus had also sought connections with the Romans, especially after their notable victory over the Carthaginians in 241. Syracuse, the strongest Greek state in the western Mediterranean, had reached an accommodation with Rome from the start of that war, perhaps compelled to do so, but a pact which lasted fifty years was no mean feat in the kaleidoscopic foreign relations of the Hellenistic World. Rome's conquest of southern Italy had, in any case, brought into its rule a number of Greek cities which themselves had connections in Greece and the Aegean. It is hardly remarkable, therefore, that the Romans and the Greek inhabitants of Asia Minor should come closer together in this period. From Attalus' point of view, a distant ally was much more attractive than any one nearby. In fact, Pergamum was threatened from the Galatian tribes on its doorstep, even though these had been defeated by Attalus himself. Bithynia to the north was a constant source of menace, while Macedonia and the Seleucids were also more likely to regard Pergamum as a prize to be won rather than a potential ally. It is hardly wonder then that in these circumstances Attalus should look further afield. Ptolemy IV of Egypt – a possible patron – may have defeated Antiochus III at Raphia but thereafter showed little sign of wishing to be a major player in the affairs of the eastern Mediterranean. And so that left Rome! But still more attractive for Attalus, perhaps, was the example of Hieron II of Syracuse. Hieron had done very well out of his alliance with Rome since the early years of the First Punic War and he was an influential figure in the Mediterranean of the mid-third century BC. His very visible success in making Syracuse a settled and immensely wealthy city may well have indicated to others a way to be emulated also to their advantage.[4] Attalus was simply following in the footsteps of his highly successful Syracusan counterpart.

After the battle of Cannae and the subsequent treaty between Hannibal and Philip V, Rome's position may have appeared to be lurching to the brink of defeat and disaster. The states around the Mediterranean may have been – and probably were – watching and waiting to see what happened next. Yet Rome was clearly not in as acutely wretched a position as its own later annalistic historians may have wanted their audience – and us – to believe. After all, from the greater depths of despair, the greater the ultimate victory; the Romans had vast reserves of manpower and only the most ill-informed leader of any state at this time can have been unaware of this fact. It must have occurred to kings such as Attalus that the Roman

senate was very unlikely to be dragged to a humiliating peace imposed by a triumphant Carthage while it could still levy and pay for armies and equipment. The fact that hardly anything of substance came from Philip's pact with Hannibal shows, first, that the Romans still had command of the sea lanes and were able to prevent aid of any substance reaching their enemy in southern Italy, but also secondly that the youthful Philip may well have been less than exuberant about the prospect of a war against Rome. Perhaps mindful of the fate of other mainland Greeks who had campaigned in Italy, particularly Pyrrhus, he might not have wished to copy that king. And it will probably have occurred to bystanders that just as Pyrrhus was unable to extract a peace from Rome, so too was Hannibal, even after success in three major land battles. For all its defeats, the Roman state was still immeasurably stronger in 215 than it had been in 275.

So the position of Attalus in Rome's first war with Philip – in many aspects a covert war, since it was fought on Rome's behalf in Greece by its Greeks allies the Aetolian League – needs little clarification other than it was surely connected with Roman needs at sea.[5] Here it should be noted that the Romans always had warships around the coast of Greece and in the Aegean Sea, so that this struggle was not allowed to spill out and create new arenas of conflict or touch others and especially affect Rome's counter-measures against Hannibal in Italy and rebellions in Sicily. It also means that the fleet of Attalus was seen as bolstering the Roman presence, rather than the other way round. Even this support dates to only from 209 when the Aetolians offered Aegina to the Pergamene king. Initially this presence was not a welcome sight to most Athenians although Attalus later came to their aid when attacked by Philip. And even when Attalus was involved in warfare with his neighbour Prusias of Bithynia, his garrison and fleet remained on Aegina.[6]

That Pergamum did not lend material aid to Rome in its campaigns against Hannibal should not be a surprise either. Even if one grants a certain amount of the wealth to Attalus' kingdom by this stage, it certainly did not have access to the resources more easily available to the Romans from their home turf. Pergamum was not a state of resources on the scale of Egypt and it is doubtful that, at such distance, Attalus could have sent anything worthwhile by sea to the Romans, who similarly declined aid from Egypt. Moreover, Pergamum did not have as free a hand as might be supposed, for there was still its close neighbour Syria, which could be viewed with suspicion, especially the ambitions of its young king Antiochus III, while its possessions in Thrace remained under threat from the equally young and ambitious Macedonian king.

In 205 or 204, a reading of the Sibylline Books indicated that for victory to be assured against Carthage the cult of the Idaean Magna Mater or Cybele (sometimes also called Rhea), which had its centre in Pessinus in Galatia/Phrygia, should be brought to Rome.[7] Negotiations opened at once. Livy provides an extended account:

> About this time there was a sudden wave of superstition at Rome. The Sibylline Books were consulted because it had hailed more often than was usual and it was duly noted that it was prophesised that if an enemy ever invaded Italy it would be defeated and turned away if Cybele, the Idaean Great Mother was brought to Rome from Pessinus. (Liv., 29.10.4–11.8)

This news seems to have occurred soon after envoys had returned with a favourable oracle from Delphi, which also spoke about a future great victory and, says Livy, was moreover in tune with the opinion of P. Cornelius Scipio, Rome's leading general, who was keen to lead an invasion of North Africa and press home the war into Carthaginian territory. The Roman senate charged with facilitating the transfer of a cult statue of the deity from Galatia therefore sought the aid of Attalus, with whom the Romans had friendly relations. A delegation of five senators was despatched with an escort of five warships and these were appropriately received at Pergamum by the king, who is said to have escorted the Roman delegates to Pessinus and personally handed over an image of Magna Mater to them.[8] En route to Pergamum, these Roman dignitaries had also called in at Delphi to request an oracle concerning their chances of success in this latest venture and the response had been:

> [...] that they would obtain what they desired with the help of King Attalus and that when they brought the deity to Rome it would be necessary for them to receive the goddess warmly and welcomed by the best man in the state.[9] (Liv., 29.11.6)

Livy's narrative here (29.11.1) states clearly enough that the Romans did not as yet have formal treaties with any state in Asia Minor. Since Pessinus was among Attalus' possessions by this time as a result of his successful participation in the war against Achaeus, it suggests that the cooperation between Pergamum and Rome against Philip V was based on a rather vague notion of friendship and common enmity.[10] This in itself is not problematic and Rome is known to have requested similar cult transferences in the past

with states with which it had only informal contact. Livy himself comments on the parallel of Aesculapius being brought from Epidaurus in 293 BC because of an epidemic at Rome. He says that there was then no treaty with Greece, but he was clearly uncertain about when or how Epidaurus, originally a member of the Peloponnesian League, would have established formal relations with Rome, if indeed it ever did so. On that occasion the facilitator of the cult transfer may have been Syracuse, which was then ruled by Agathocles, who had many contacts with the various Hellenistic rulers of Greece, including Ptolemy Lagus and Pyrrhus of Epirus. The Peace of Phoenice of 204 between Rome and Macedonia is placed by Livy between the Roman envoys' arrival at Pergamum and before their return to Rome with the Magna Mater image (Liv., 29.14.13–14). This may indeed have been the case, which would mean that Attalus could not have been present at the peace treaty between Philip and the Roman commander P. Sempronius Tuditanus (cos. 204), but in which he was named along with a number of others as being allied with the Roman cause, but not necessarily possessing treaties with Rome.[11] It was probably more a case of etiquette than anything else, but does illustrate the fact that the Romans did not shy away from contacts, wherever they might be, when it was of benefit to their community. In that respect, they had much in common with Attalus. More important as regards an analysis of the political situation of the time is the possibility that the signing of Phoenice occurred prior to the Roman request for the Magna Mater. Such an order would shed a rather different light on the episode. Attalus was evidently an astute and clever diplomat and realized the advantages of maintaining an entente cordiale with Rome. It may not be coincidental, therefore, that the revelation to the senate from the Sibylline Books should have occurred at the time of peace with Macedonia, either at the time when Pergamum was proving its loyalty to Rome in the matter of the deity from Pessinus or immediately after that treaty had been signed to illustrate to the world – and in particular to Philip V – exactly where Attalus' future political stance would be. Attalus was certainly capable of manipulating the oracle at Delphi, where he was highly influential, and could easily have manipulated a reading of the Sibylline Books through allies at Rome. By showing where his future sympathies lay, he was rather nailing his colours to the mast as regards his foreign diplomacy; and it worked out wonderfully well for Pergamum, as events proved, although the fifteen years after Phoenice were difficult ones not just for Pergamum but the region as a whole.

Whatever the strict order of events – and they obviously occurred within weeks, and certainly months, of each other – the peace negotiated in

Epirus re-established the status quo in the Aegean. To some it may have represented (and still does) an unsatisfactory and inchoate end to a war, but to the Greek states of the region living through constant uncertainties, such a culmination of hostilities was common enough in the Hellenistic period. Philip V gained little from his association with Carthage, but avoided a greater conflict with Rome. Pergamum, Rhodes and Athens, each worried to some extent about Macedonian aggrandisement at their expense, gained little either, except for the possible future support of a friendly but otherwise involved power beyond the Ionian Sea. Traditionally, the western states had offered little concrete aid to the Greek *poleis*, either faced with external threats such as Persia or when fighting each other.[12] For Philip, perhaps, that expectation might remain unfulfilled, especially when Rome was obviously galvanized to finish a war with Carthage and expel invaders from Italy. The potential for further conflict in the Aegean remained real, but the new determining factor was the interest – or lack of – from the Romans. Their participation in any new war opened up possibilities for the, at that moment, lesser powers. It says a great deal about the outlook of kings such as Philip and later Antiochus that they chose not to court but rather to adopt a combative pose against Rome.

The Magna Mater affair in more ways than one ensured Roman interest in Asia through contact with Pergamum, and in a sense it also drew the Romans deeper into the affairs of the Greeks and their constant conflicts. The connection of shared religious experience should not be underestimated as a basis for contact – not just cultural, but also political. Thus no sooner had Phoenice brought a peace in Greece and the Aegean than hostilities began afresh, soon between Macedonia and Pergamum, and ultimately a new war between Philip and Rome. Peaceful coexistence between Hellenistic kings and rulers seems to have been a state of affairs never contemplated by the political players. The western edge of Asia Minor, for a long time unstable and a zone of conflict between the successors of Alexander, again became the focus of new struggles. The kingdom of Lysimachus had been replaced mostly by Macedonian control on the European side of the Propontis, while the Seleucids, Pergamum and Bithynia were all rivals for power on the Asian side; and even the Ptolemies still maintained footholds in various islands, not least Samos and Cyprus. Philip soon intervened in a conflict on Crete aimed probably at unsettling Rhodes, with whom he harboured grudges for its recent pro-Roman stance. Then the Macedonian occupation of cities such as Lysimacheia, Cius (Prusias), Miletus and islands such as Samos must have been truly unsettling to the Pergamenes. Philip did not stop there, however, for once on the

mainland of Asia his army marched up the Caicus Valley.[13] Philip's forces pillaged it, seemingly almost unopposed, including the destruction of the Nicephorium on the hill opposite the acropolis and a temple of Aphrodite, the damage to which in negotiations with T. Quinctius Flamininus, the Roman general in Greece, he later offered compensation.

> As for the damage done to the shrines of Athena Nicephorus and Aphrodite it is not in my power to do anything else towards restoring them, but I shall send plants and some gardeners to tend the places and look after the replanting of trees which were cut down. (Pol., 18.6)

Of course, Attalus was hardly an innocent party, having used the previous hostilities to start building his own overseas empire,[14] but at once we see again – and time after time – the ease with which an invading army, whether Galatians, Syrians, Macedonians or Bithynians, could easily penetrate to the heartland of Pergamum right up to the city's walls. It illustrates the inherent weakness of Pergamum's frontiers and the difficulty of securing them from whichever direction a threat came. Pergamum gained from being on established trade routes, but it also made it vulnerable. In such circumstances further and closer ties with Rome were inevitable, since Pergamum was caught between Macedonia and Antiochus III, whose real or imagined pact with Philip V for carving up Ptolemaic possessions would have resulted, so any Pergamene legation could plead, in their kingdom also being overwhelmed. Such an agreement transmitted in the literary sources (Liv., 31.14.5) may have been ancient propaganda, but it could still be used to draw the Romans east again by Pergamum, Rhodes and Athens, all anxious about their future independence.

However, it was the brief siege of Athens that acted as the catalyst for a reopening of hostilities between Rome and Macedonia, while Pergamum, vehemently opposed to Philip's empire-building, especially at its expense, took up the Roman side with no hesitation at all. Philip was particularly keen to occupy Abydos (Liv., 31.14.4) on the Hellespont so that he could seal the Black Sea and then exert a stronghold on the states of Asia Minor. The Acarnanians had raided Attica with the consent – but not the participation – of Macedonia, and Attalus in person arrived in Athens from Aegina, where he had been directing operations against Philip.

> The entire citizen body with their wives and children poured out to greet him. The priests in their official robes welcomed him as he entered the city. It was as if the gods themselves had left their shrines to receive him. (Liv., 31.14.12)

That the king himself, after nearly forty years on his throne, was out and about in Athens to lead his troops in person emphasizes the warrior status to which he, like other Hellenistic kings, subscribed.[15] He also probably felt he had little choice but to support Athens, for not only was he popular there, and the city had also made its position as a friend of Rome evident at Phoenice, but – possibly most importantly – should Athens fall to Philip, his next target would be Aegina, Attalus' own possession. Thus the defence of Athens in effect became the defence of Pergamene territory. Athens, Pergamum and Rhodes, probably hoping for support from the Romans to whom they immediately sent delegations, declared war on Philip and he responded by leading an army from Demetrias into Attica (Liv., 31.24.1–5), where he plundered the outskirts and attempted to take the Piraeus. However, nothing much accomplished, he withdrew to Boeotia and the scene was set for the greater conflagration which would envelop Greece and would end in Philip's defeat at Cynoscephalae less than three years later.

In the meantime, Antiochus III had returned from his eastern satrapies in about 205 and he, too, turned his attention to Asia Minor, left neglected after his victory over Achaeus nearly a decade before.[16] His focus was interrupted by further conflict with Egypt, but his victory in Panion in 200 greatly increased the chances of further warfare in Asia Minor and must have been regarded with gloom by Attalus in his old age. Antiochus gained Coele-Syria but otherwise Egypt remained firmly beyond his grasp. The mercurial Seleucid then looked to other ventures to enhance his warrior status: Asia Minor and Europe beckoned. Ancient wars were usually slow to start and the king of Pergamum was given some respite with the reverses of Macedonia; his death occurred a little after the victory of T. Quinctius Flamininus in 197. Having worked to obtain Roman action against Philip and having supplied aid to the Romans as well in their second war with Macedonia, Attalus died suddenly at the age of seventy-two, says Livy (33.21), by then an esteemed ally of Rome. His eulogy by Livy is informative:

> He had fallen ill at Thebes and was taken to Pergamum where he died. Fortune had granted him nothing to suggest a hope of kingship except wealth. By using this wealth carefully and astutely he made himself appear worthy of being a king. Then in one battle he defeated the Galatians and after that victory he took the diadem. He ruled over his citizens with complete justice and was especially loyal to his allies. He was kind to his wife and sons, of whom four survived him and was courteous and generous to his friends. He left the throne sound and strong so that it could be passed down to the third generation. (Liv., 33.21.1–6)

Attalus' son and successor, Eumenes II, inherited much respect among the international community but no real and substantial resources to withstand the Seleucid onslaught when it began in the mid–190s, and he was soon on the back foot against Antiochus III for the very existence of his kingdom. Antiochus moved his military operations from Sardis and took possession of Ephesus where he stationed his main fleet, occupied Thrace and the main city of that region, Lysimacheia and attacked Greece in 191. Although Antiochus was expelled from Greece in the same year after suffering a defeat at Thermopylae at the hands of the Roman consul Manius Acilius Glabrio, a battle in which incidentally the elder Cato fought and wrote at length about,[17] Pergamum was completely isolated and besieged. Eumenes himself took command of the defence of the city and the Seleucid besiegers led by Antiochus' son Seleucus were driven off. Fortunately Eumenes had unexpectedly received aid from a force of a thousand Achaean infantry and one hundred cavalry led by a certain Diophanes, who claims Appian (*Syr.*, 5.21), was instrumental in saving the city. The local community and its garrison, presumably including its king, who later propaganda maintained was a vigorous and successful general (but clearly not on this occasion), was not at all keen to engage with the enemy, but the Achaean commander led a number of successful sorties with his own troops. He also worsted Seleucus' cavalry on at least one occasion and, in so doing, forced those besieging not only away from the vicinity of Pergamum but from its entire territory.

> About this time Seleucus, son of Antiochus, invaded Eumenes' kingdom and besieged Pergamum. By constantly ambushing the enemy when they were foraging or looking for supplies and keeping up continual harassment he (Diophanes) compelled Seleucus to withdraw from Pergamum and out of Eumenes' country altogether.[18]

The siege must have occurred over a number of weeks in the summer of 190 prior to the battle at Magnesia ad Sipylum which occurred in December of that year. In that time the state of Pergamum virtually ceased to exist, since its king was blockaded in his capital, and the rest of the kingdom would have fallen to the enemy. This was plainly the case, since Antiochus is duly noted as operating in the vicinity of Thyateira later in the year, and it was only with the Roman advance that the Seleucid army withdrew into the Hermus Valley.

During the hostilities in Greece, Eumenes had lent aid to the Romans through his navy from its harbour at Elaia. The Seleucid fleet still operated

out of Ephesus, however, and it is likely that since Antiochus held both sides of the Hellespont, his fleet controlled most of the harbours from the Troad south to Caria. This situation changed dramatically when his fleet commander Polyxenidas, a Rhodian mercenary, gave battle to a Roman fleet, commanded by L. Aemilius Regillus, near Myonnesus, close to the Ionian city of Teos.[19] Appian gives some detail (*Syr.*, 5.27); the result was not in doubt – with Roman losses at just two ships from their fleet of eighty-three, the Seleucid fleet had twenty-nine either captured or sunk out of a total of ninety. Polyxenidas retreated to Ephesus, where he was blockaded. The significance of the victory at Myonessus cannot be overemphasized, for it really meant that Antiochus' imperialist ambitions were at an end. Without control of the sea, he could not hold the Hellespont. He also panicked and abandoned his European base at Lysimacheia, and retreated all the way back to Sardis even before the Roman army, now commanded by the consul L. Cornelius Scipio accompanied by his brother, the famous Scipio Africanus, arrived in Thrace.[20] Antiochus had not only given up Lysimacheia with all its supplies to the Romans without a fight, but also his fortresses at Sestos and Abydos, the usual crossing point for armies to and from Asia. Antiochus' new HQ at Sardis was now a mere a stone's throw from Pergamum, since not more than seventy miles separated the two cities. The subsequent campaigning in the winter of 190–189 which brought about the end of Syrian empire-building to the west of the Taurus all took place within and just around the territory of Eumenes. The Roman land forces crossed the Hellespont, moving south through the Troad and into Mysia, accepting the surrender of any cities formerly bound to the Seleucid king. Pergamum was their obvious initial objective. While Antiochus clearly did not threaten the city again, he did move his army from Sardis to Thyateira which commands the head of the Caicus Valley.

By this time (late autumn 190) the Romans were at Elaia and although they could surely have moved on and occupied Ephesus, still held for Antiochus by Polyxenidas, they chose to ignore the Ionian coast and head inland instead. The arrival of a Roman army outside Pergamum may well have been a welcome sight to its inhabitants, until recently highly intimidated by the sight and presence of Seleucid forces outside their walls, and Antiochus' main army numbering at least 50,000 was now again encamped no more than fifty miles away. It may well be that the consul Scipio chose to make Pergamum his headquarters. At this point there was a lull in the fighting as negotiations opened between the king and the Roman command, although these proved pointless. Scipio Africanus was apparently taken ill at this stage and returned to Elaia and was not with the army.

The Romans were to make extensive use of Eumenes' kingdom when this war against Antiochus III entered its last phase in the autumn and winter of 190. They advanced up the Caicus Valley, Antiochus retreating before them down the valley of the Phrygius before taking up a new line close to Magnesia ad Sipylum in the valley of the River Hermus.[21] The Romans followed on behind – Thyateira (modern Akhisar) being little more than thirty miles (fifty kilometres) from Magnesia (modern Manisa) – and were keen to engage, while their adversary in a strongly fortified encampment declined battle until he felt that any further delay would be detrimental to the morale of the Seleucid army. Once driven to give battle, Antiochus was, of course, heavily defeated; his heavy infantry, the Macedonian phalanx, was annihilated by the Roman infantry and by cavalry provided and commanded in person by Eumenes II. Antiochus fled to Sardis, arriving there about midnight (App. *Syr.*, 6.36),[22] and then proceeded to Apamea whence, after apparently being reunited with his son, he left for Antioch, his grandiose plans for western conquests thwarted forever.

The Attalid kingdom after the defeat of Antiochus was augmented with new territories, first because Eumenes had proved to be a faithful ally of the Romans and secondly because the Romans, having exhibited their power, even in a rather crass fashion (and here the campaigns in Galatia of Cn. Manlius Vulso in 189 readily spring to mind), withdrew from Asia Minor. It was therefore inevitable that Pergamum would benefit from a Roman reluctance to become permanently involved in Asia Minor. Realistically, not only would this have been a financial burden for the Romans, but the opportunity for further expansion came too quickly after the acquisition of a large part of the Iberian Peninsula. The Romans still had to work out how to govern what became two new provinces there, which more than doubled the size of their direct rule. The prospect of administering an area yet bigger again than that already just acquired clearly caused a conservative Roman senate to look at indirect control instead. Pergamum therefore became the instrument of Roman hegemony in Asia Minor. Before the successful outcome of this Romano-Syrian war the kingdom hardly extended beyond its city walls, hemmed in by Syrian forces which had largely overrun western Asia Minor. Still following the Peace of Apamea and the work of a decemviral commission sent by the senate to oversee the terms of the new treaty (Liv., 38.39.7), Eumenes received control of what appears to be at first sight a generous swathe of former Seleucid land:

> [...] those [cities] which had been supporters of Antiochus or had paid tribute to Attalus were required to pay taxes to Eumenes. Eumenes

> received in addition the following lands: Lysimacheia and the Chersonese and the towns, villages and territories which Antiochus had possessed. In Asia Eumenes received the two regions named Phrygia, the one adjacent to the Hellespont, the other named 'Greater Phrygia'. Also restored to Eumenes were the regions of Mysia, which had been taken from him by Prusias of Bithynia, Lycaonia, Milyas and Lydia; and in particular the cities of Tralles, Ephesus and Telmessos. There was a dispute between Eumenes and the envoys of Antiochus about Pamphylia part of which lay lies beyond the Taurus Mountains, and the problem was referred to the senate.[23] (Liv., 38.39.14–17; cf. Pol., 21.46.9–11)

The kingdom certainly underwent a great expansion in its size (see Map 2), although this should be set against its position in the 190s when, with the exception of its possession of Aegina, it remained a *polis* with territory mostly only in the Caicus Valley (Pol., 23.11.7; cf. 32.8.3).[24]

Eumenes II, then, seemed to believe – or was perhaps led to believe – that he had the freedom of action accorded to an ally rather than a client of Rome. Initially the Romans were content to allow this during the period from the Peace of Apamea down to the start of the Third Macedonian War in 171. Eumenes' activities in these two decades also clearly show an independence of action, although, because there was no official Roman presence in Asia Minor, his neighbours were equally quick to regard Rome as a distant and somewhat disengaged power. It is plain at once that the Treaty of Apamea did not bring peace to Asia Minor. With the once-dominant power in disarray and its successor unwilling to maintain a physical presence in the region, the existing kingdoms were soon jockeying for primacy. Hostilities are recorded as early as 187 between Pergamum and Prusias I of Bithynia and the Galatian tribes, for the latter had not at all been overawed by the Roman show of force in 189.[25] The cause lay in the seizure of Phrygia Epictetus by Prusias in late 190 with the tacit support of Antiochus III. The Romans had not insisted on its transfer to Pergamum even though it appears to have been precisely noted in the treaty. The warfare persisted for over three years with a Bithynian naval victory over the Pergamenes before Eumenes was able to win a sufficiently convincing victory on land to bring his neighbour to the negotiating table.[26] The result, which was concluded with Roman intervention in 183 or early 182, was that Eumenes finally obtained his lands (Strabo, 12.5.1–3) as stipulated by the treaty of 189, but it left Bithynia hostile under its new king Prusias II.[27] Rome's almost suffocating presence was obviously felt, since the prize from this conflict went to Pergamum. This mainly consisted of control over

Galatia, which simply added to the current problems, since Pergamum now possessed a border facing Pontus whose king, Pharnaces, following the usual warrior ethos of his kind, was not content to remain within his traditional lands. While Eumenes was gaining another military success to his credit, Pharnaces was occupying Sinope and soon after made inroads into Galatian territory. Prusias II and Ariarathes of Cappadocia also continued to have ambitions in extending their territories mainly at the expense of Pergamum, whose king they undoubtedly envied. Prusias was an especially awkward enemy to deal with and he was clearly to have a great deal of success against Eumenes's successor before losing out again because of Roman intervention. On the other hand, Eumenes at the end of the 180s gained from these local conflicts because he remained Rome's favourite in the region and in 181 was able to celebrate a pan-Hellenic Nicephoria in celebration of his accomplishments and begin embellishing his city (see Chapter 6).

Such was Eumenes' perceived influence with Rome that it is hardly surprising he became a target for assassination on the orders – or so it was claimed – of Perseus, the new king of Macedonia. The attempt was launched by hired assassins during a visit by the king to Delphi, on his way home from Rome to Pergamum in late 172 BC, after his participation in negotiations between Macedonia and Rome which had ended in deadlock. With war seemingly imminent, Perseus perhaps felt that he had nothing to lose by murdering Rome's closest ally in the region. It must be said, however, that not only was the plan, if Macedonian in conception, extremely ham-fisted in its undertaking, but even if successful was guaranteed to point the finger to the guiding hand of Perseus himself. Perseus is not remembered as a monarch of great guile or particular intelligence, although one should always be alert to the existence of ancient propaganda. Still, to be even perceived as the author of a high-profile murder of a Roman ally was bound to have a negative effect on Roman behaviour, while Eumenes' likely successor, his brother Attalus, was most unlikely to change the political stance of his kingdom. Livy (42.15–16) recounts in some detail, probably from Polybius, the episode, which occurred when Eumenes stopped off at Delphi, and says that at least four assassins were involved, including a Cretan mercenary named Evander and three Macedonians. These were to attack the king on his way up to the Sanctuary, where the path had been reduced to a single file on account of a recent mudslide, and where a wall provided the attackers with cover. As the king was walking with just one attendant at hand he was felled by boulders and stones hurled down on him from above. The assailants fled

in the belief that their action had been successful, but Eumenes, although struck unconscious and apparently with serious wounds, survived and eventually recuperated in Aegina before setting off back to Pergamum.[28] Accusations were immediately made against Perseus and such was the disgust of the Roman senate at this episode that it is deemed a major factor in propelling the senate into making the decision to declare a state of war with Macedonia the following year. If Perseus had hoped to gain anything from this action he was obviously a considerable novice in the clandestine arts, for it backfired completely. Even if he was not involved, his enemies, especially Eumenes, were able to fasten the blame for the whole affair on him; and Livy certainly related the episode as if there was no doubt about Perseus' culpability. This clearly emerges in the account of the subsequent murder at Samothrace of Evander, one of the would-be assassins, who after the Macedonian debacle at Pydna had remained with the king in his flight.

> When this murder had been hurriedly carried out, Perseus suddenly realised that in truth he had brought down on himself the crime which had been levelled against Evander. Evander had wounded Eumenes at Delphi, and Perseus had killed Evander in Samothrace. This act meant that the two most sacred shrines in the world had been soiled with human blood; and he alone was responsible for both these crimes. (Liv., 45.5.11–12)

Soon afterwards Perseus surrended to the Roman legate Cn. Octavius, who was in charge of a Roman fleet in the northern Aegean, and was brought to the Roman consul L. Aemilius Paullus near Amphipolis. Throughout the drama which had as its climax the destruction of Perseus' kingdom, there is hardly a mention of Eumenes.[29] Having been perhaps instrumental in driving the Romans into a war with Macedonia, he fades out of Livy's narrative. He is duly noted as having provided probably only cavalry support, along with Massinissa, king of Numidia, at the start of the Roman military operations against Perseus (Liv., 42.52.1). However, almost the next mention of Eumenes seems to point to a remarkable turnabout in the way he is treated by Livy.[30]

There is, after all, something quite baffling in the account of Eumenes' intrigues with Perseus. Eumenes had been a long-standing loyal ally of the Romans and had actively participated in the victory over Antiochus at Magnesia ad Sipylum, gaining immeasurably from this action both in terms of territorial additions to his kingdom and also of personal *auctoritas* throughout a particularly fragmented and unstable region of the Eastern

Mediterranean. He had maintained this close friendship from the Treaty of Apamea, had warned the Romans, probably repeatedly, of Perseus' ambitions in Greece and beyond, and had been subjected to an assassination attempt possibly orchestrated by the Macedonian king just prior to the hostilities opening in 171. Yet the Romans hardly chose to employ this loyal ally in the war and, towards its conclusion, perhaps Eumenes took umbrage at this snub at being left on garrison duty and not actively engaged in the campaign. Eumenes was approached through various intermediaries by Perseus (Liv., 44.24) evidently in a last-ditch attempt, seeing that the war was already into its third year, to forge new alliances.[31] The contact, says Livy, was purportedly about an exchange of prisoners:

> But more secret matters were up for discussion which for a time brought Eumenes who was already an object of dislike and suspicion among the Romans the real embarrassment of false charges of a more serious kind for he was thought to be a traitor, a virtual enemy, while the kings were busy trying to outsmart one another in trickery and in greed. (Liv., 44.24.7–9)

There is clearly some moralizing element about the graft of kings which has intruded into the narrative, perhaps not from Livy's main source Polybius, though the latter is not without his moralizing moments. That it should illustrate the darker side of Eumenes, who had, until recently, been on such good terms with Rome, is also more than surprising. Secret meetings were held, but not so secret that rumours did not fly; and, in fact, a great deal of incriminating evidence appears to have been available to ancient writers. Livy claims that the Pergamene king was not interested in an alliance with Perseus, since the extent of their mutual enmity was too deep and too long-term to be erased from either's memory. However, Eumenes is supposed to have perceived a certain degree of war-weariness in the Romans and a desperate desire for some form of peace settlement on the part of the Macedonian king. And he is considered to have thought that he might just make a fortune from acting as a sort of honest broker between the two! Had Eumenes played the role honestly he might have been forgiven; however, the evidence loudly proclaimed to the Romans dishonesty and traitorous conduct on a quite unbelievable scale – but quite appropriate behaviour for kings. And that is a problem, for can the episode really be regarded as historical? The details of an episode over a century before Livy's birth are remarkably precise. Eumenes is said to have recognized the possibility of making a profit out of this venture.

> He started to bargain for payment either for not giving aid to the Romans either by land or by sea or for securing a peace with Rome. He would expect a thousand talents for remaining neutral, for achieving a peace one thousand five hundred talents (Liv., 44.25.6).

First of all, Eumenes was not then in a position to become neutral if he was in charge of a garrison, even if it was insignificant to the total war effort. Therefore his only course would be to try to intercede for Perseus with the Roman senate. Perseus was understandably reluctant to part with such a huge sum, which was equal to the war indemnity his father had been obliged to pay Rome after 197. Perseus prevaricated while Eumenes refused to take less for this deal. The result was, Livy states:

> There Perseus hesitated. For kings [...] he said, paying money for the first outcome at least seemed sordid and a disgrace both for the one who gave and by much more for the one who received; for the hope of peace with Rome he would not shrink from the expense but that he would pay once the undertaking had been completed, and that in the meantime he would deposit the money in the temple on Samothrace. This island was in Perseus' kingdom and Eumenes saw that it was no different there to being at Pella, and so negotiated with vigour for a deposit or a part of the price. The result of this was that these attempts to get the better of each were in vain and the two kings gained nothing but a bad reputation. (Liv., 44.26.10–12)

Perseus was notorious for his parsimonious habits; Eumenes clearly became equally so for his avarice. The opposite characteristics in kings – kingship itself being a system of much repugnance to the Romans – may therefore indicate the creation of a topical element which, initially an exemplum of regal treachery and lack of constancy, actually then became historical. Moreover, was this tale put about before or after Eumenes tried to obtain a peace in the region? Were his efforts immediately conceived as being due to avarice on his part or duplicity because he was a king? Were the Romans angry with Eumenes because they had already become suspicious of his designs and really believed that he might change his allegiance, or was the extent of their anger made retrospectively greater in the later accounts? That Eumenes misjudged the situation and was considered to have meddled in much the same way as the Rhodians were accused of doing is the usual view by modern scholars.[32] That the Romans seem to have discarded an ally of a quarter of a century so rapidly is held

to be symptomatic of Roman arrogance arising from domination of the Mediterranean. However, while this is certainly possible, it is the personal defects of the king and his incredible fall from grace which makes the entire episode a little suspect. It is possible that the more obvious duplicity of the Rhodians and their punishment by the Romans was somehow meant to be lessened by an equally severe castigation of Eumenes, based more on hearsay than on evidence. In that way, neither of these rivals in the region was seen to gain from Perseus' fall. The thinking, even for the Romans, is perhaps crude, but is nevertheless worth voicing here, especially since it is worth remembering that the 'disgrace' of Pergamum was of extremely short duration in comparison with that of the Rhodians, who had to wait until the principate of Claudius (AD 41–54) to be fully rehabilitated in Roman eyes.

It is also worth noting, therefore, that later on in 168 – in fact, within a matter of weeks of Eumenes' apparent disgrace – an embassy from Pergamum was again in Rome to alert the senate to an attack on his kingdom by the Galatians. Not only had this legation been received, but the response had been to send a senior envoy from Rome to Asia, who, however, accomplished little.[33] Eumenes then launched his own independent action against the Galatians, for which he presumably had the tacit approval of the Romans since, given his recent ignominy, he would surely not have risked further outrage from Rome.[34] Yet if that outrage had been less than is often assumed, then his position remained the same as it essentially had been ever since 189/8: that of Rome's security chief in the region. Further, much or all of Galatia fell under Eumenes' control and he does not appear to have been ordered to surrender this later (Diod., 31.14), while Attalus II, Eumenes' successor, still possessed much influence in the area in the 150s.[35]

That this policing role was eventually unsuccessful can be easily shown, and certainly prompted the Roman takeover after 133 when client kingdom status could easily have been maintained. The problem with hegemonial control is that the client does not always do what the leading power wants it to do and, given the difficulties of ancient communication, real breakdowns in understanding between parties could, and did, easily occur. The Romans kept as strict a control of the Greek East as was possible in the circumstances, but even Philip V, once a headstrong and irascible monarch who seems to have matured in his appreciation of foreign affairs after his defeat at Cynoscephalae in 197, was not above some mischief-making while sticking to the letter of his treaty with Rome up to his death in 179. The Seleucid kingdom did achieve some resurgence following

the untimely death of Antiochus III in 187 and the ineffectual rule of his elder son Seleucus IV, when Antiochus IV succeeded in 175. The Seleucid kings also stuck strictly to the agreed frontier of the Taurus Mountains, although certain Pisidian hostility towards Pergamum might suggest that this was encouraged from Antioch. Antiochus was certainly vigorous in his border disputes with the Ptolemaic government of Egypt, culminating in a full-scale invasion in 170/69 which was turned back in 168 only through the intervention of Rome, then recently triumphant in its third war with Macedonia.

Attalus was Eumenes' younger brother, born about 220, so he was already well past sixty years of age when he became king in 158 and then went on to rule for another two decades. As a younger brother to a Hellenistic monarch, no matter the supposedly close-knit and benign family relationships of the Attalids which represents contemporary propaganda, he would have learned early in life to be circumspect and not overtly ambitious if he wished to survive. And survive he did, but only just, in 172, when he was reprimanded by his brother for appearing to be too eager to succeed, having heard inaccurate reports of his brother's death at Delphi. Still Eumenes allowed his brother greater participation in governing in the last ten years of his reign. Eumenes was supposedly so out of favour in Rome that friends of Attalus urged him to stage a coup and take sole power. That he did not rise to this bait not only indicates fraternal loyalty but also a more mature approach to fulfilling his ambitions. His advanced age meant that he is less evident in leading the kingdom's affairs from the front than his predecessors, although it must be noted that sources for this period are far from complete.[36] Still, it is clear that Attalus employed a number of capable subordinates who evidently formed a powerful clique around the king. This scenario may be gleaned from the epitome of Diodorus' history (34/35.3) which covered the reign of his successor.

Attalus, in keeping with his personality, was a meddler who had probably enjoyed being an *eminence grise* during the reign of Eumenes II. This detachment does not disguise his keen interest in the affairs of neighbouring states.[37] However, his notorious interference in the affairs of the Seleucid kingdom with Roman connivance should also be set in a realistic context. By the 150s Pergamum was just about the sole state in western Asia Minor which had any freedom of action under Roman supremacy or which could act as instrument of the dominant power.[38] With the destruction of Macedonia after 168 and the apparent reduction of the other petty kingdoms to client status, it is hardly any wonder that if rival claimants to power in Antioch did not make their way to Alexandria, they

made instead for Pergamum. Even so, the Pergamene king had to take great care, since those activities, real or imagined, of Eumenes had almost cost him his throne. Still, the Syrian king Demetrius I (162–150), who notably had avoided contact with Pergamum in his own successful bid for the kingship, because Eumenes' previous support for his uncle Antiochus IV naturally enough made a permanent enemy of the Pergamene king for the future, began to pose a serious problem for the regional powers.[39] Following the acceptable practice of Hellenistic warrior kings such as his own grandfather Antiochus III, from the start he pursued an aggressive foreign policy, becoming actively involved in a civil war in Cappadocia and alienating Egypt after he had spectacularly acquired Cyprus, its most significant overseas possession, by bribing and conniving with its Ptolemaic governor.[40] Demetrius may not have been a particularly popular ruler, but he was certainly not inept, and a resurgent Syria sufficiently alarmed Attalus, who in about 153 or 152 found a convenient pretender living in Smyrna who was not only encouraged to organize a rebellion, but was also given material aid from Pergamum and some ships provided by Egypt. Attalus was, no doubt, also intent on extracting revenge on Demetrius for a decade's frosty relationship. The Romans, going along with their chief Asian ally, also recognized this pretender as the heir of Antiochus IV and Antiochus V, whom Demetrius, son of Seleucus IV, had sought to portray as usurpers.[41] He was called Balas, but he also took the altogether more glamorous-sounding name Alexander,[42] and quickly received support from the many disaffected elements in Syria unhappy with the rule of Demetrius. A new bout of civil war broke out in Syria, which last nearly two years before Demetrius was beaten and killed in the fighting. The king of Pergamum perhaps hoped to gain influence through this protégé, but little positive came out of this latest Syrian feuding, except that the Seleucid kingdom slipped further in its role as the prime agent of Hellenisation beyond the Taurus Mountains and the Euphrates river. The only true beneficiary was Rome, whose supremacy in all Mediterranean affairs simply climbed ever higher. Attalus, it could be argued, ill served the Greeks of the East in his own quest for a more malleable and manageable Syria. The decline of the Seleucid dynasty actually accelerated the advent of a permanent Roman presence east of the Aegean, and Pergamum played a major, if subordinate, role in this apotheosis.

Thus the guiding hand of Attalus may also be perceived in the fall in 149 of Prusias II in Bithynia, who was for long a thorn in the side of the Pergamenes and their sworn enemy.[43] Appian gives extensive coverage in his preamble to the war with Mithridates (*Mith.*, 1.4–5) and his source was

probably Livy's history, which for this period is not extant. As recently as 156/5, Prusias, following in the footsteps of Seleucid and Macedonian armies, had invaded Pergamum, taking Elaia on his way up the Caicus Valley and carrying this attack right to the walls of Eumenes II on the acropolis (App. *Mith.*, 1.3).[44] The Nicephorium on the hill opposite the acropolis and in full view of the besieged citizens was once again destroyed by an invading force.[45] Under pressure from the Romans, Prusias gave up this further act of piratical adventurism, but not before acquiring a very presentable amount of plunder. He agreed to pay a damage indemnity of five hundred talents, which was less, stressed the Pergamenes, than the damage he had actually caused. The episode probably spurred Attalus into scheming for his enemy's destruction. Appian says that Prusias was far less popular with his subjects than his son Nicomedes, and the king became so worried about his future that he had sent his son to Rome some time before. In Rome, Nicomedes also became a popular figure, and Prusias therefore sent instructions that he should press the case for alleviating the recently imposed war indemnity on Bithynia. An envoy named Menas was sent to Rome and ordered to kill Nicomedes if he failed in this task. In the meantime, Attalus had sent his own ambassador, Andronicus to argue his case for greater compensation. Menas, meanwhile, was not at all well disposed to killing Nicomedes and so instead plotted with him for the overthrow of Prusias. Andronicus was drawn into this conspiracy, promising the aid of Attalus in gaining Prusias' kingdom, although it can safely be assumed that he already had instructions from Attalus to win over the heir to the Bithynian throne as a future ally. Nicomedes was apparently free to leave Rome, and when he arrived in Epirus the intrigue was presented by Menas to his bodyguard of two hundred soldiers, who also suggested to these that Attalus was allied with the pretender. Nicomedes then sailed to Asia and on to Pergamum, where Attalus just happened to have been expecting him, gave him a good welcome and lent sufficient aid for a counter-invasion of Bithynia. Prusias appealed to Rome for intervention, but Attalus, with his patronage and connections, was able to cause delays while his forces gained a foothold in Bithynia. The senate finally appointed a commission, but one apparently so inept that Prusias finally despaired of help from this quarter.[46] Prusias was blockaded in Nicaea with a body of Thracian mercenaries and, although the Roman delegates ordered the Pergamenes to withdraw, the Bithynians now complained bitterly about their king. The Roman envoys departed with nothing solved and Prusias fled to Nicomedia in the hope of withstanding a siege there until some help arrived.

> The citizens however betrayed him and opened the gates so that Nicomedes entered with his army. Some envoys sent by Nicomedes murdered Prusias who had sought refuge in the temple of Zeus. Thus Nicomedes became king of the Bithynians after Prusias. (App. *Mith.*, 1.7)

Attalus, probably with the tacit approval of Rome, would have felt well pleased with the result and no further hostilities are recorded with Bithynia. The approval of Rome was clearly a policy uppermost in Attalus' thinking. He chose to veer away from the semi-independent stance of his predecessor and this closer alliance can also be seen in his participation in the wars in Macedonia (Strabo, 13.4.2) and Greece between 149 and 146, which culminated in the destruction of Corinth – a catastrophe for fellow Greeks but from which he appears to have to have gained material benefits. Attalus sent his general Philopoemen with some forces (Paus., 7.16.1) to join the campaign led by the consul Lucius Mummius and, following the sacking of the city, his services were well rewarded, although the pecking order was clearly well established.[47]

> The most admirable trophies and art works were taken away by Mummius while those less grand he gave to Philopoemen, Attalus' general, and to this day there are spoils of the Corinthian war in Pergamum. (Paus., 7.16.8)

The last years of Attalus II's reign seem relatively stable, always bearing in mind the absence of secure source material. A campaign against Thracian tribes is noted at roughly the same time as the coup against Prusias (Strabo, 13.4.2).[48] His death at over eighty years of age was presumably natural and Eumenes' son succeeded without any disagreement in the kingdom.

The account of Attalus III's kingship in the main literary source, the history of Diodorus, is remarkably negative. Diodorus must have employed an earlier inimical writer whose view is quite at variance with the sort of unaffected academic who occupies some texts such as those of Pliny the Elder (*NH.*, 8.196, 18.22, 28.24), Plutarch and Galen.[49] Admittedly, the brief extract of Diodorus (34/35.3) which remains may well have been taken and preserved out of all context; still, the king is described as cruel and scheming and responsible for many deaths of members of his court. These apparently included friends and allies of Attalus II. It is also possible that an insecure monarch also removed potential heirs and, in so doing, was left isolated and, according to Diodorus, became an object of popular hatred. Again, not too much should be read into this, since this is precisely

the sort of lack of popularity which Demetrius of Syria or Prusias of Bithynia are also said to have experienced. In response, of course, Attalus may well have wished to place Pergamum under Roman rule in revenge! At his death the situation in the kingdom was possibly turbulent and so a pretender of Pergamene origins would easily have obtained support to contest the former ruler's bequest. Diodorus often names his sources, but this section, preserved in the epitomes of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (AD 905–959), has no such reference. The most likely would not be any Attalid court histories, which would have been universally positive about the king, but rather histories written by Greeks such as Posidonius of Apamea or Theophanes of Mytilene, both of whom visited or lived in Rome and whose works would have been easily accessible to Diodorus.[50]

Chronology

209	Attalus acquired the island of Aegina
205	Treaty of Phoenice
201	Philip V invaded Pergamum
200	Battle of Panion
197	Death of Attalus I and succession of Eumenes II. Attalus acquired the island of Andros
192/1	Siege of Pergamum by Seleucus
191	Battle of Thermopylae
190	Battle of Magnesia ad Sipylum
189	Treaty of Apamea. Campaign of Cn. Manlius Vulso in Galatia
187–183	War between Bithynia and Pergamum. Death of Prusias I
181	Completion of the Nicephorium and celebration of the first quinquennial panhellenic Nicephoria
181–179	Pontic invasion of Galatia and treaty with Eumenes
175	Eumenes aided Antiochus IV to win power in Syria
172	Attempted murder of Eumenes II at Delphi
170	Completion of the Altar to Zeus
168	Eumenes' campaign against the Galatians
162	Demetrius I avoided contact with Pergamum in his coup in Syria
159/8	Succession of Attalus II
155/4	Pergamum besieged and Nicephorium ransacked by Prusias II
150	Attalus II aided Alexander Balas in his civil war with Demetrius I of Syria
149–148	Attalus sent warships to aid the Romans against Andriscus

148 Fall of Prusias of Bithynia and succession of Nicomedes II
146 Attalus' general Philopoemen at the sack of Corinth
138 Attalus III king of Pergamum
133 Death of Attalus III

Chapter 3

Old and New Horizons

Since Pergamum became the province of Asia, it seems completely justifiable that the sum parts of the former kingdom, its numerous and varied urban centres – not least Ephesus, which eventually became the regular and preferred seat of the Roman proconsul or governor,[1] but also Smyrna, Sardis, Miletus and others – should receive at least some notice, even if the focus of attention will remain the city of the Attalids.[2] Indeed, the quite discrete centres of Hellenistic civilization were faced with an immediate crisis when Attalus III died in the middle of 133. It probably came as no surprise to his erstwhile subjects that he had decided to leave his kingdom to the Romans, but if he had hoped that this transfer of power would be a smooth and peaceful one, he was either greatly mistaken or immensely gratified, for it was certainly not to be so.[3]

As we have seen, the kingdom of Pergamum had been largely a gift of the Romans fifty years before and, in a sense, that gift was simply being returned.[4] However, unluckily for Attalus' realm, Rome was in turmoil that year – the reason being the legislative programme of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, tribune of the plebs – and so domestic affairs took precedence. Indeed, when news of this extraordinary bequest arrived it does not appear to have nonplussed the ruling elite. The possession of a new province with all the concomitant administrative problems seems to have been accepted with neither a dissenting or sceptical voice nor any debate.[5] The literary sources for this year are somewhat problematic, since the most extensive, without exception, all belong to the second century AD – Plutarch, Appian and Florus – and they focus almost entirely on the ambitions of Gracchus, with considerable moralizing comment.[6] Even the earliest writers to mention the events of this year – Cicero, Sallust and Velleius Paterculus – all dwell on the constitutional problems caused by Gracchus' agrarian law and his attempt to be re-elected tribune of the plebs rather than on any proceedings in which one state – whether one wants to regard it as wholly independent or merely quasi-dependent – had been left to another state.[7]

It was an unprecedented event, but it draws no comment![8] The one vital piece of information which does exist is on stone excavated at Pergamum, and refers back in time to a meeting of the senate in which all the acts and decisions of Attalus III up to the formal date of the transfer of power – in other words, one day before his death – were confirmed. Now this meeting is dated by scholars to at least a year after the death of the king and possibly later still,[9] which must mean that the Roman senate unaccountably left this extraordinary affair in abeyance for all that time after it first came to its attention, and a full year or more after the death of Gracchus, which was the climax of the civil unrest in 133.

According to Plutarch (*Ti. Gracch.*, 14.1) Eudemus arrived in Rome, and (while the date is unspecified) this must have occurred towards the mid-summer of 133; sometime in July is the probable date, roughly a month after the death of the king. This event and the delivery of the bequest of Attalus, however extraordinary it was, more or less coincided with Gracchus' attempt to be re-elected tribune and, hence, did not take precedence while rioting and killings were occurring in the city. When the senate finally came to discussing the matter at length, probably having broached the issue but with little enthusiasm, it was already in the second half of 132 that the consul P. Popillius Laenas is recorded as having asked the opinion of senators about what should be the definitive response to the news contained in the king's will. The date of the senatorial discussion clearly shows, therefore, that any annexation process cannot have begun until 131, getting on for two years after the death of the king, by which time the revolt against the takeover was in full swing. The senate response seems rather conventional and does not reflect the impact of the bequest or any reflection of the sort of discussion which might have occurred. It may have been recorded in histories written soon after this time and which were used directly or through intermediate sources by Livy, but this has not survived, and the epitomes of his work dealing with these years are so bare as to offer no clue to his coverage. Moreover, the inscription recording the senate's response gives only the starkest of information and even this stone will not have been erected in Pergamum for some time after it was ordered to be inscribed and maybe not until after the rebellion had been suppressed – hence after 129.[10]

The challenge to the new order had come very quickly, most likely within a matter of weeks rather than months. It is claimed that a member of the Attalid family, a certain Aristonicus who took the regnal name Eumenes III, became the leader of the revolt. Whether he was actually related by blood to Attalus III or whether he exploited an invented connection is

not at all clear from the sources, where there is clear uncertainty about his exact background, and various stories presumably circulated at the time and later.[11] He does not appear to have found much support among the chief urban centres, but rather sought out others more amenable to his claims from the more peripheral sectors of the former kingdom, although here we should be aware of adverse propaganda; indeed, there is some evidence – late and rhetorical – which does suggest otherwise (App. *Mith.*, 9.62). Also, the fact that Aristonicus was able to elude the Romans for over three years yet not move beyond the Caicus Valley suggests that he actually commanded considerable local support. Florus (1.35.20), probably employing Livy at this point, suggests an uprising on a major scale, although involving neither Pergamum nor Ephesus, the two senior cities of the kingdom. This might indicate that Aristonicus was not an Attalid, even if he claimed to be a son of Eumenes II. Florus says simply that he was a bold young man of royal blood (*regii sanguinis ferox iuvenis*) and that:

> He easily won over some of the cities which were used to obeying the command of kings and with force gained a few which had resisted including Myndos, Samos and Colophon. He also defeated the army of the praetor Crassus and took him prisoner. Soon he was defeated and captured by Perperna and kept in chains after his surrender. Aquillius finished the rest of the Asian War, wickedly mixing poison with the water supply for the surrender of certain cities.[12]

It is hardly remarkable that Pergamum, Ephesus and other major cities should remain aloof from this rebellion, since these would have contained not only the highest concentration of Roman and Italian residents but their own governing families would have been fully aware that their futures would be bright only by attracting the sort of investment that Rome could provide following the peaceful imposition of formal provincial status.[13] It is also quite clear that where this did not rub off onto the local community, there was far less enthusiasm for a Roman takeover. However, the cities mentioned by Florus raise critical issues of historicity since, although Colophon was a major city in Ionia, like Myndos in Caria and Samos, it was an independent *polis*.[14] These cities, besides not being part of Attalus' realm, are also not attested as involved elsewhere. Therefore, Florus' accuracy is at best questionable, and he may be guilty of misreading his source rather than having accessed a writer who was also in error. But, again, it may point to the start of a rebellion outside Pergamum which only

after an initial outburst was transferred to the former kingdom. So there may be cause to pause over the origins of this revolt, a more general instability in western Asia Minor, and Florus may be giving some indication of this. However, it is surprising for a Roman writer to give the incorrect status of ex-praetor to the consul P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus (consul 131) who was also the *pontifex maxmius*, who, it is claimed elsewhere, was captured by robbers in Ionia and then committed suicide in an episode quite unconnected with the revolt of Aristonicus.[15] The actions mentioned as attributed to Aquillius (consul 129) also seem to have come from a hostile source, possibly not Livy, and their origins may lie in attacks made on him or on his son, the consul 101, both of whom were accused of misconduct, the elder Aquillius from his lengthy proconsulship in Asia, the younger Aquillius from his suppression of an equally lengthy slave rebellion in Sicily. The theme of poisoned water supplies is also not mentioned by another source and looks as if it has an underlying moralizing tract of a rhetorical nature, rather than being from a straightforward historical source.[16] Nonetheless, if there is some sense of historical veracity in this passage it suggests both that quite desperate measures were required to extinguish the revolt and that this rebellion was a serious affair lasting six to seven years all told, the significance of which has been diminished, for whatever reason, in the sources.

Thus Strabo (14.1.38) appears to be a sounder source of information for events than Florus. He states that Aristonicus initially gained support in the small town of Leucae, near Smyrna, but then was defeated in a naval battle near Cyme by a fleet, presumably that of the former king stationed in Ephesus. Yet this actually supports Florus' contention that the revolt began in Ionia and not in Mysia, which is interesting. After that reverse, Aristonicus lost control of the coast and contact with any supporters he may have had on the islands. Afterwards he was confined mainly to the interior where, in any event, he was able to set up bases in Thyateira, Stratoniceia and Apollonis, all in the Upper Caicus Valley.[17] These were substantial cities and they and other cities in this area all have one thing in common: they were populated with many former mercenary soldiers and their families who may well not have been originally from this part of the world. Just as Xenophon found many ethnic groups living in the valley, so this practice seems to have continued. It is no wonder that this was where the bulk of Aristonicus' support should come from, since, if rumour of making royal estates Roman public land (*ager publicus*) had travelled abroad, loss of status and livelihood could easily have stirred up great resentment. Such fear and uncertainty Aristonicus appears able to have exploited.

> He first surprised Thyateira and then he won Apollonis and intended taking control of other strongholds but did not maintain his position for long. Afterwards, five Roman envoys came, then an army and the consul Crassus. These were followed by Perperna who captured Aristonicus and sent him to Rome and ended the war. (Strabo, 14.1.38)

Large numbers of veteran soldiers settled in various communities from quite discrete origins, while a resource to bolster the armed forces of the kingdom also posed a great danger when that kingdom came to an end, for there was no longer the possibility of future employment. The Roman takeover may well have been regarded with great hostility by such an element in Pergamene society. An inscription discovered in the city, but applying to a much broader audience, probably exposes this danger and an attempt to overcome it. The document is dated to the time of the revolt and was issued by the *strategoi*, or local governors, and promises a grant of Pergamene citizenship to groups of individuals both within the urban limits of the city and beyond, including resident metics. The main recipients of such a law were surely the mercenaries – specifically mentioned are Macedonians, Mysians and Masdyenians – of various communities such as the cities which supported Aristonicus.[18] This measure was clearly promulgated to forestall local uprisings or encourage desertion from the cause of Aristonicus, although it was not as effective as it may have been intended. Troops from the major cities, says Strabo, probably Pergamum, Ephesus and Sardis, were sent against Aristonicus and these were supported by contingents from Bithynia and Cappadocia.

The Roman senate, therefore, initially sent a five-man commission to look into matters on the ground, accompanied or led by the *pontifex maximus* P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (consul 138).[19] The date of this legation is usually dated late in 133, but is more likely to have started from Rome only in the spring of 132 or later.[20] Nasica became the focus of great hatred in the city, being held personally responsible for the death of Gracchus, and Plutarch states (*Ti. Gracch.*, 21) that due to this unpopularity he went abroad. That he died in Pergamum is attested from his tombstone discovered there and which is dated to about 132. The date of the departure of this embassy could be in 133, but note that the election of P. Popillius Laenas as consul took place after the death of Gracchus and he, too, was identifiably a vigorous opponent of the tribune. Nasica was therefore not initially threatened by sentiment against him in the late summer and early autumn of 133. However, as the tide of public opinion swung against the consul for his strenuous actions against various supporters of

Gracchus, Nasica's own position became more tenuous – and certainly with the canvass for the consulship by P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus, a senatorial ally of Gracchus and one of the commissioners for *lex Sempronia*. Either during the period that Mucianus was campaigning and when he was probably stirring up popular feeling, or even as late as his successful election to the consulship in roughly August of 132 seems a more likely departure point for this commission, which perhaps included Nasica.[21] The envoys then either reported back to the senate following his death or had finished their brief and, as a result, would have been summoned by the consul, Popillius Laenas, to its further deliberations, which resulted in the document regarding the status of Pergamum dated to late in 132. The place of Nasica's death is a clear indication that the city was not involved in the uprising, although the situation must have been really quite unstable within a short distance of the city's limits.

In the next year, Crassus Mucianus himself was despatched with an army of probably two legions, but his involvement came to an unexpected end near Leucae, as noted above, although the origin of Aristonicus' revolt was by then no longer associated with it. Frontinus (*Str.*, 4.5.16), who is not in accord here with Strabo, states that the consul was apprehended by Thracians – whether they were independent bandits or actually supporters of Aristonicus is not stated – but that this occurred somewhere between Elaia and Myrina, which is somewhat to the north of Ionian Leucae and in Mysia. His death forestalled any further Roman action in that year and gave the rebel leader some breathing space. In the spring of 130 the new consul, Marcus Perperna arrived with more forces and with these the rebellion was overcome; Aristonicus is said to have been captured at or near Stratoniceia (Eutrop., 4.20.2). At this point it is worth observing that, from the names of the cities mentioned, Aristonicus' main area of activity and support seems to have centred on the Upper Caicus Valley, but never more than twenty to thirty miles from Pergamum itself. Two of the urban centres mentioned as favouring the rebels were places founded for former mercenaries; Thyateira had a much older origin but, by then, also had ex-mercenaries.[22] It may be that these ex-soldiers, as was sometimes the case in the Ancient World, found a settled life less satisfactory than their previous existence and so were easily roused to fighting as professionals, or that they considered their possessions vulnerable to the Roman takeover. They would have been granted lands to farm, but probably not Pergamene citizenship until the offer of about 133, so the threat that their lands might be appropriated by the Romans may well have caused great anger, a phenomenon seen later in Italy.[23] Soon after Aristonicus had been

taken prisoner, the consul apparently died of an illness, presumably again at Pergamum.

> Manius Aquillius the consul came after this with ten commissioners and he regulated the affairs of the new province and established that form of government which continues in use today. (Strabo, 14.1.38)

Aquillius suppressed the persistent vestiges of the rebellion with vigour,[24] but Florus' comments reflect that some time actually elapsed before peace was fully restored.[25] Some years later a *lex Aufeia* is attested by Gellius (*NA*, 11.10.1), dated by Broughton to 123, which was apparently concerned with the new province of Asia but was opposed by C. Gracchus, hence the putative date. Crawford considered that this particular law expressly dealt with a reward of some Pergamene land – namely Phrygia Epictetus – to Mithridates V of Pontus for his aid in quelling Aristonicus' revolt and that Gracchus spoke against it, since it entailed a loss of revenues from the new province.[26] In other words, this proposal probably never became law and the land was either retrieved from the Pontic king or never delivered; either way, it became the excuse for the later hostilities against Rome by Mithridates' son, the great Eupator. Broughton recognized that the Aufeian law may have been nothing more than a proposal, but he was also inclined to consider that notice of this law in Gellius was a mistake by the writer or copyist and that this was actually meant to refer to a *lex Aquillia*. This raises interesting issues about legal procedure in the Roman Republic which may be addressed here. On the face of it, Broughton's suggestion does not appear credible, even if some copying error or misinterpretation of sources has crept into Gellius' account. In the first place, Aquillius was absent from Rome fairly soon after taking office as consul in 129, say from late April/early May until probably the second half of 126, when he celebrated a triumph. Either before or after this event he prosecuted under the *lex Calpurnia* for *repetundae* and acquitted by a senatorial jury.

It is possible that Aquillius promulgated under his name a *senatus consultum* which duly became law prior to his departure to the *provincia*. There was sufficient time, but at this point it makes little sense in the context, for at that stage the tribute to be collected from Asia had not yet been assessed and was only about to be so by the decemviral commission which accompanied the consul. And law regarding Asia tax cannot belong to 129 unless it was improbably concerned with future tax before that matter had even been approached; laws may be forward-looking, but are not prophetic. Land in Phrygia may also have been promised to Mithridates

of Pontus between the arrival of Crassus Mucianus in 131 and that of Aquillius, but it is perhaps more likely that this king was granted lands as thanks for help rendered at the suppression of the rebellion, rather than as an incentive to join against the rebels. In any case, Mucianus was not in Asia long enough before his capture and death to indulge in such diplomatic overtures, while the unexpected illness and death of Perperna may also have impacted on his relations with foreign rulers. Finally, Appian (*Mith.*, 12) recounts, in the context of complaints by Mithridates VI to the Romans in 88, that Aquillius, who is not named in the text but is pointedly implied, had sold Phrygia to his father. So any law regarding Asia tribute and Phrygia Epictetus would seem to date to later than the spring of 129. If so, it cannot have been a law which bore the name of Aquillius, since a *privatus* could not pass legislation and have it named after him. It hardly needs stressing, moreover, that a proconsul about to be prosecuted for *repetundae* is unlikely to have been responsible for legislation on his arrival back in Rome from his *provincia* with that trial looming. Mithridates could have lent aid to Mucianus and Perperna in 131 and 130 and the capture of Aristonicus occurred before Aquillius became consul, and C. Gracchus could have spoken against a measure at the earlier date – for, although at that stage still young and not yet a senator, he was already *IIIvir agris dandis assignandis*, according to the stipulations of his brother's agrarian law – but a piece of legislation at this earlier date simply does not fit the circumstance, and if Gellius has recorded a real event it must be later and closer to 123.

Broughton may well have been influenced in his thinking by a desire to tie this law to others dealing with the new province of Asia which formerly were also assigned in 129, but which can be shown to be later; primarily of interest is the senate decree regarding the land of Pergamum. But the decemviral commission only began its work in the summer of 129 and – given the complex issues of assigning the correct rights to a large number of individual cities, estates, temple shrines and other items of landholding – it cannot have completed its work within a single summer. It is true that from 130 the institution of a new province was evidently exercising the minds of the law-makers at Rome in mainly the area of administration which seems to have revolved around the granting of freedom to the major cities and the conversion of royal estates to *ager publicus* so that their concomitant revenues might be exploited. Still, such revenues, about which we know very little, cannot have started to arrive in Rome until several years after 129. The *Senatus Consultum de agro Pergameno* attempts to deal with the sorts of conflict which had arisen between the equestrian tax farmers, the

publicani, and the provincial elite, since the latter complained that lands originally declared free had been erroneously identified as liable to tribute by the former. We know that such issues over precisely what these quasi-officials were allowed to tax only became a highly charged issue after a long and troubled history in the late Republic, so it can hardly have occurred before the decemviral commission completed its work. Hence Gellius is probably correct in assigning the law to an Aufeius, however shadowy that politician might be, and that C. Gracchus, who wanted a more efficient tribute system to start operating and to include Phrygian lands, would have been best placed to speak out on the subject when he was tribune.

The date of this law also therefore throws light on other relevant issues. In 133, Tiberius Gracchus had thought to use the wealth from Pergamum to finance his land commission, which had been blocked by the senate. The idea shows quick insight, but it obviously never came to fruition. Notwithstanding the fact that much of his legislative proposals were reversed or ignored, any revenues he might have hoped to come from Asia cannot have become regularized until at least the mid–120s. The commission which his law set up to allot land to landless citizens would have remained starved of funding and the whole exercise probably became fairly meaningless before it was wound up about 113/12. How naive of the Roman populace to think that this means of financing a project could be accomplished so easily!

Yet the dating of legislation surely indicates a close causal relationship between the acquittal of Aquillius, recognized since antiquity (App. *B.C.*, 1.22), and the *lex Acilia repetundarum* of 123/22, which might also have been passed in response to the proposals in the *lex Aufeia*. Gracchus and his tribunician ally, Manius Acilius Glabrio were evidently concerned about the excesses of Roman magistrates in the provinces and plainly were focused on events in the newly acquired Asia. In 123, they introduced processes for correcting abuse, and so reinforcing the existing *lex Calpurnia*, by changing the composition of the juries in trials of erring proconsuls. A law regulating the tribute in Asia, and another assigning the collection of the revenues to *equites*, would seem to go hand in hand with this judicial measure, and is also, by the way, another likely reason for assigning the *SC de Pergameno* to a later date, since *publicani* probably only became a common phenomenon in the East after 123. And if Aquillius' own misconduct was one of the main reasons for the Gracchan-inspired law, then the latter becomes, rather, the regulator of Asia and not the proconsul.[27] Hence one law aimed at taking back land from Mithridates V of Pontus followed Aquillius' proconsulship and his court appearance for extortion, from which he escaped with the

connivance of the senatorial jury; this was quickly followed by the change to the jury system by Gaius Gracchus. There was little delay between Aquillius' term as proconsul in Asia and jury reform through the efforts of Gracchus. The Roman senate – never an expeditious body politic when it came to any matter of importance, particularly of a constitutional nature – may well have allowed the maladministration of provinces to continue had not Aquillius been acquitted and Gracchus not sought the tribunate.

Since work began on converting Pergamum into a province only in 129, as Strabo states, then this fact surely impacts on the dating of the *SC de agro Pergameno*.[28] The dating of the inscription has tended to focus on the names of the consuls and the senatorial signatories or members of the *consilium* to the original document in order to establish the date. However, in the context of the transformation of the kingdom into a province, it cannot belong to the earlier date, since the rules and regulations governing the revenues had yet to be established – if, indeed, there had been a great deal of thought about the situation at all by then.[29] The problem, to sum up: scholars have wanted to telescope events in Asia into a fairly narrow time scale with a tendency to use the often convulsive movements of modern political crises as a yardstick by which to measure ancient events. This is quite plainly not necessarily always the case, and almost certainly not in this instance. The kingdom was bequeathed to Rome in 133 while the *res publica* was convulsed with its own political uncertainties, so Pergamene affairs were shunted into a siding for the rest of that year. The early part of 132 was taken up with oppressive measures against some former supporters of Gracchus, which meant that Pergamum was only discussed in the second half of the year. Scipio Nasica was despatched on a fact-finding tour and promptly died. The rebellion of Aristonicus by then was out of control and, in 131, the consul Crassus Mucianus was sent with an army, but not before the spring. He was soon taken hostage and killed himself and no further action occurred in that year. Marcus Perperna was sent next and, in 130, captured Aristonicus, but did not complete his brief and also died at Pergamum. Manius Aquillius came in late spring or early summer 129, accompanied by ten senators who were entrusted with the task of conversion, but fighting continued in the area probably well into 128 or even 127. The measures ascribed to Aquillius by Florus suggest possibly desperate measures to end resistance. The work of the commission, therefore, could hardly have been completed before there was a general peace. The laws of Gracchus follow on quite rapidly from Aquillius' trial for fraud in 126 and a desire to see worthwhile revenues emerge from this new source of income for Rome. The focus of the contents of the *SC de agro*

Pergameno, therefore, must arise from sufficient time for friction to have occurred between the collectors of the revenues – the *publicani* – and the provincials from whom they extracted this income.

This *senatus consultum* regarding the taxation of the mainly agricultural hinterland of Pergamum could therefore naturally take some considerable time to emerge. The cities and cult centres of the former kingdom were largely to be exempt from annual tribute, which is where most of the wealth resided. Pergamum, Ephesus, Sardis, Apamea, as well as the vast majority of urban centres throughout western Asia Minor became free city-states with autonomous governments under (as it turned out) the not-so-stern surveillance of Rome. The decree sought to safeguard the difference between lands exempt from tribute and those subject to the activities of tax farmers – the *publicani*. In effect, it reinforced the original terms of Attalus' will. It is extremely unlikely, given the unstable conditions in the Caicus Valley between 133 and 129, that *publicani* could possibly have been active – if, indeed, they were at all – prior to the recommendations of the decemviral commission. Thereafter, some time would elapse while disputes took place over which lands should pay tribute and which should not, but whether this would have taken twenty-five years to draw a senatorial decree concerning the issues is difficult to assess. The senate was notoriously slow in reaching decisions, the division of lands between free cities and tribute-paying areas in Asia was highly complex (although probably no more so than in Italy), and the disputes may have racked up over a period of several years before envoys from various cities and the council which represented the entire province – the *koinon* of Asia – were sent to Rome.[30] Hence the later date of 101 or even a date in the early 90s, perhaps during the consulship of M. Antonius (cos. 99), look altogether more likely for this measure, which may also reflect a greater economic malaise affecting the whole region.[31]

The new province of Asia, notably not to be called Pergamum yet also not possessing a significant part of Asia Minor even west of the Halys River,[32] appears not to have been directly affected by the wars Rome fought in the three decades following its incorporation into the Empire.[33] However, all that changed with Rome's wars with Mithridates VI Eupator, a lengthy episode which proved nearly disastrous to the urban culture of the region and to Rome's prestige, if not its power. Mithridates became king of Pontus in 120, after his father's murder, aged about fourteen years, within a matter of years after peace had been restored to the former kingdom of Pergamum. He threw off the shackles of the regency initially held by his mother within four years, and the young king – now unhampered and very ambitious for military adventures – quickly cast around for areas to add to

his realm. Phrygia, which had been granted to Mithridates V as a gift from Rome for support against Aristonicus but which had been retrieved almost immediately and incorporated into the new province, appeared a worthwhile target. For a young ruler brought up in the milieu of the Hellenistic warrior, the apparent reneging on promises to his father would surely have been regarded as an insult, and so it is little wonder that the regency did not long survive such an embarrassment.[34] Quite why the Roman senate did not consider the possibility that this action might lead to future problem is mystifying unless, with limited foresight, it was thought that Pontus would not regain its former status.

Ancient Pontus lay beyond Bithynia and Galatia, so, from soon after 120, shared no common border with the province of Asia. However, there was a history of animosity between Pergamum and Pontus, dating back at least to the time of Pharnaces II (ca. 185–170) when he came into conflict with Eumenes II. Hostilities between them were never going to result in an advantage for the former, however, while Eumenes remained on good terms with Rome. One has to wonder why a king such as Pharnaces thought he could draw the Romans, who were summoned by both parties to adjudicate between them, away from their, by then, long-standing ally. He was ordered to surrender the conquests he had gained in Galatia and Paphlagonia, although he retained the city of Sinope.[35] Reverses such as these were remembered and old grudges nurtured among the Hellenistic rulers, so it is likely that Mithridates intended using both this old dishonour to his family and more recent insults as an excuse for further war. Besides, the king of Pontus had a claim to Galatia which dated back to the reign of Mithridates II during the reign of Seleucus II of Syria. Galatia remained largely independent and tribal and, although officially under the supervision of Pergamum, with the exception of Pessinus, the ties were not strong and could be manipulated by a skilful diplomat. Mithridates, who was to prove equally capable on the field of battle and in the more covert discipline of diplomatic manoeuvres, also cast covetous eyes over Cappadocia. This kingdom was inherently weak, although its kings acquired some measure of stability by being related to the kings of Pergamum. However, after 133, the stability which had been in force in Asia Minor for fifty years – enforced, in the main, through a strong and Roman-supported Pergamum – was now thrown into doubt.

The kingdoms and the city-states of Asia Minor will have observed the slow reaction of Rome to the rebellion of Aristonicus and the time it took to quell what should have been a minor affair. Some may have been concerned, while others may have taken heart. Among those who may well

have considered that Rome was becoming something of a paper tiger was the young Mithridates VI. At first he seems to have confined his military exploits to those lands and states which lay beyond his eastern frontiers along the shores of the Black Sea (Memnon, 22.3–4), as far north as the Phasis river in Colchis. These were not likely to hold his attention for long and he soon set his sights on regaining Cappadocia. There is some confusion in the literature, primarily in the evidence presented by Appian in his history of the *Mithridatic Wars* about the connection between Pontus and Cappadocia. From his account it transpires that the first Mithridates, an officer of Antigonus Monopthalmos, carved out a kingdom for himself initially in Cappadocia and only somewhat later in Pontus, but had at some indeterminate point been relieved of the former. Antigonus had dreamed that this Mithridates, a descendant of the former Persian royal family, intended to conspire against him. He had this officer arrested, but:

> Mithridates escaped with six cavalrymen and took over a fortified place in Cappadocia where many others joined him as a hindrance to Macedonian power and he came to possess the whole of Cappadocia and the nearby lands along the Black Sea, and this great power he had constructed he left to his children. These ruled one after another down to the sixth from the first Mithridates who waged war against the Romans. Since the Cappadocian and Pontic kings were of the same family it seems to me that they divided the rule, some ruling Pontus and the others Cappadocia. (App. *Mith.*, 9)

Although this account is possibly rather simplistic and too tailored an explanation for the emergence of a Cappadocian dynasty, it is highly likely that the two families intermarried, as did most, if not all, of the ruling families of Asia Minor. Indeed Memnon notes that in the mid–90s:

> Mithridates gained control of Cappadocia when he captured his nephew Arathes/Ariarathes after breaking his oath concerning a truce, and then killed him with own hands. This Arathes/Ariarathes was the son of Ariarathes and the sister of Mithridates. (Memnon, 22.1)

Another account speaks of a Persian satrap, Ariarathes (ca. 350–321) who was allowed to keep his position after Alexander's victory at the Granicus in 334, but who set up a kingship in his province of Cappadocia soon after the king's death and whose rule extended into Pontus. Although his place was taken by others, notably Eumenes of Cardia, the dynasty he

had established regained power and soon ruled this kingdom again. It seems likely that Mithridates I and Ariarathes' immediate descendents both held lands extending from the coast to the hinterland in this central region of Anatolia. In the 190s the king of Cappadocia, Ariarathes IV had supported Antiochus III against the Romans and was presumably penalized for this action under the terms of the Treaty of Apamea, although we hear nothing damning, and this monarch continued to rule until his death in about 163. By 130, the ruling family had become firm allies of Rome, since Ariarathes V commanded the cavalry for the consul P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus against Aristonicus, but he was also killed in an engagement during this campaign – probably not, however, on the occasion of the consul's own capture and death.[36] His successors made scant impact on regional affairs and the kingdom may have been destabilized through the efforts of Mithridates. This is certainly what occurred in the mid–90s when the king of Pontus overthrew Ariarathes VIII or IX (or both) in 96 and 95 respectively and installed his own nominee as monarch. Sulla may have had a hand in ordering the Pontic king to withdraw from Cappadocia, leaving a certain Ariobarzanes as king (Plut. *Sull.*, 5.6–7). Sulla was then active in Cilicia,[37] another ex-praetor C. Cassius Longinus was governing Asia, while Sulla's successor was Q. Oppius.

Mithridates' invasion of Asia in 88 came as a result of an attempt to return the kings of Cappadocia and Bithynia to their respective thrones by the proconsuls C. Cassius Longinus and Q. Oppius, which completely backfired. Longinus escaped to Rhodes while Oppius was captured and kept a prisoner, but the highest-ranking senator in the regions, M'. Aquillius, the former consul of 101, was not only captured at Mytilene on Lesbos but was then brought to Pergamum, where he was murdered on the order of Mithridates.[38] The predecessor of Cassius Longinus in the proconsulship of Asia had been Q. Mucius Scaevola (cos. 95) in 95/4. He deserves some attention here, since he was obviously a senior political figure and a leading legal expert, whose assignment was deemed necessary since all was not well in the former kingdom. It appears that he, along with his senior legate, P. Rutilius Rufus (cos. 105),[39] attempted to reduce the amount of interest being charged by Roman tax-gatherers on the cities of the province, which was having a crippling effect on the economy.[40] What had been going on there? It seems extraordinary that, after a decemviral commission had overseen the incorporation of Pergamum into the Empire, within thirty years there appears to have been such turmoil. It is possible, although it seems remarkable that the new province can have literally been raped of its wealth in so short a time, especially when this is directly contradicted by the

literary evidence. Plutarch – admittedly much later, but nonetheless not a source to be easily dismissed – gives an account of the sort of retribution suffered by the Greeks of Asia in punishment for their widespread support for Mithridates and shows how many of its wealthier families were made destitute through individual hardships imposed on them.

> Sulla now imposed on Asia as a whole a war indemnity of twenty thousand talents. At the same time individual families were completely ruined by the brutal behaviour and extortion of the soldiers who were quartered on them. Orders were given that every host must give his guest four tetradrachms a day and provide him with dinner to which he could invite as many friends as he wished. An officer was to receive fifty drachms a day and two changes of clothes, one to wear in the house another when he went out. (Plut. *Sull.*, 25.2)

Meanwhile, Appian (*Mith.*, 9.61) gives the same detail as Plutarch but also notes that the fortifications of numerous cities were destroyed, while others were plundered and many of their citizens sold as slaves; and that afterwards Sulla summoned representatives of the Greeks cities into his presence.[41] He also has the Roman general deliver scathing criticism of the Asiatic Greeks, particularly taking the Ephesians, perhaps a little unfairly, to task:

> We first came to Asia with an army when Antiochus the Syrian king was ravaging your cities. We expelled him and fixed the boundaries of his realm east of the Halys River and the Taurus Mountains. We did not retain possession of you when you had become our subjects instead of his but allowed you your freedom except that some cities were given to Eumenes and the Rhodians our allies in that war not as tribute paying but as clients. As proof of this fact, when the Lycians complained about the Rhodians we freed them too. Such was our conduct towards you. On the other hand, when Attalus Philometor bequeathed his kingdom to us you aided Aristonicus against us for four years until he was captured and most of you forced by necessity or fear returned to your duty.[42] Notwithstanding your previous behaviour, after a period of twenty-four years during which you had attained great wealth and opulence both public and private you again became insolent through peace and luxury and took the opportunity while we were preoccupied in Italy to join Mithridates. Most infamous of all you obeyed his order to murder all the Italians in your cities including women and children on one day. (App. *Mith.*, 9.62)

He goes on to relate the scale of the carnage and the merciless fashion in which the Greeks had taken out their hatred on the Italian residents. We do not know why there was so much resentment of these metics living in these cities, although metic quarters were often made a focus of revenge for supposed wrongs and injustices.[43] It can only be assumed that these Italians, mostly merchants or businessmen of one form or another, were seen to be living very comfortably, both from the collection of the tribute which was due to Rome and the lucrative positions they had acquired in these cities. Yet that must mean that the twenty-four years of glut is essentially untrue and an example of anti-Greek rhetoric, and that the cities of Asia had not recovered from the effects of the revolt of Aristonicus. Had they been enjoying nearly a generation of extreme prosperity and peace, they would not have had any cause to join with Mithridates in what was liable to be at least an uncertain future under a monarch whose rule was liable to be more oppressive and much more immediate than that of the Romans. Appian concludes this speech of Sulla by itemizing the punishment to be meted out to the Greek communities:

> […] it is necessary that you should all also suffer some punishment for doing such things and it is reasonable that this should correspond to your crimes. However never let it be said that the Romans would ever consider sacrilegious murder, indiscriminate confiscations, slave uprisings or other barbaric acts. From a desire to spare even now the Greeks as a people and a fame celebrated throughout Asia, and because of that reputation that the Romans hold dear, I shall impose on you only the tribute for five years to be paid immediately together with the costs of this war and however much it will be in settling the affairs of the province. I will decide which charges will be assigned to each of the cities and I shall fix the time of the payment. Those who refuse to pay I shall punish as if they were the enemy. (App. *Mith.*, 9.62)

The fines were allocated to the envoys of the cities and he sent officers for their collection. If the cities of Asia had been suffering financial crises as early as 95, this must have greatly exacerbated the situation. If they had not been as fiscally weak as Sulla is made to say, then the result was that they were now plunged into what Appian describes as abject bankruptcy. He claims that the cities were impoverished and oppressed with huge debts at very high interest rates. If this is not too dramatic a conclusion to the first war with Mithridates, then Asia was indeed pitched headlong into a state of utter misery.

There are further indications of instability in the region caused, in part, by the disappearance of an independent Pergamum which had policed the western end of Asia Minor and whose kings had maintained armed forces. Now the Roman presence amounted to an annual governor and his staff, reliant for security on conscripted levies, but not a permanent military force. This was, of course, to be expected, since the senate was always alert to the possibility of centres of power being created outside Italy and beyond its control. However, this policy also led to perceived weakness on the boundaries of the Empire. So, too, with the effective emasculation of Rhodian power after 168 the issue of piracy had not been tackled. It was plainly a massive problem, even at the end of the century, since M. Antonius had been appointed to a command as a praetor in 102 and sent to eradicate piracy from, it is usually assumed, the area around Cilicia (Liv. *Per.*, 68).[44] However, the pirates roamed far and wide and, in so doing, must have affected merchant traffic in the southern Aegean, if not the Aegean as a whole. The trade routes from west to east must have been badly affected to draw such a firm, if belated Roman response, while shipping from Italy and Greece to Asia Minor and Syria and beyond will have been the unlucky victims of the voracious appetites of Cilician buccaneers. Appian (*Mith.*, 9.63) states that widespread piracy was a problem which was evident during, and following, the first war with Mithridates, but does not mention pirates beforehand; indeed, it is possible that, as far as he was concerned, this upsurge was a by-product of the warfare and the conniving of Mithridates, who had encouraged the pirates and employed them as allies. The sea lanes had been left unguarded and had become dangerous, with the result that the cities of Asia did not recover quickly from the hostilities in the area in the 80s.

The silting-up of the harbours along the Ionian coast, which affected Miletus and also Ephesus, will not have helped matters. Allen has noted that the harbour at Miletus was already in trouble, even in the first half of the second century BC.[45] The silting-up of estuaries on which the major ports were situated affected much of the western coast of Asia Minor from the Hellespont down to Halicarnassus. Miletus on the river Meander was particularly badly hit from an early stage since the Meander, as its name has come to suggest, is slow-moving in its flood plain at this altitude and the land itself in the Latmian Gulf is also barely above sea level, as Strabo illustrates:

> The distance from Miletus to Pyrrha in a straight line is thirty stadia, but is much longer if the journey is made close to the land. It is fifty stadia from Pyrrha to the mouth of the Meander River and the ground

> is marshy and a swamp.[46] Sailing up the river in oared ships a distance of thirty stadia brings one to Myus, one of the twelve Ionian poleis which now because of its loss of people belongs to Miletus. Xerxes is said to have decreed this city to supply Themistocles with fish, Magnesia with bread, Lampsacus with wine.[47] (Strabo, 14.1.9–10)

Since the flow of the Meander slows considerably across its flood plain, it deposited (and continues to do so) its alluvium, which contributed to much of the clogging of its channel and its estuary. This phenomenon was clearly evident, too, at Ephesus, where, to preserve its wealth based on sea-borne trade, salvaging its port facilities incurred a great deal of effort and expense. Again Strabo gives clear indications:

> The city has an arsenal and a harbour. The entrance to the harbour was made narrow on the orders of Attalus II Philadelphus who as well as the persons responsible for the construction was disappointed with the result. The harbour in former times was shallow on account of the embankment of sand deposited by the Caister River, but the king thinking that there would be deep water for the entrance of greater transport ships if a mole was built in front of the mouth of the river which was very broad gave orders for the construction of this mole. However, the effect was the opposite to that which had been expected for the alluvium was now confined to the inside of the harbour and made the entire area shallow up to the river-mouth. Prior to the mole's construction the tidal effects of the sea had cleared away the sand entirely by drawing it outwards. (Strabo, 14.1.24)

Yet, for all that, Ephesus in Strabo's day had one of the largest markets in Asia west of the Taurus Mountains (Strabo, 14.1.24) and remained one of the chief cities of Asia throughout the Roman Empire's long life. Pergamum, on the other hand, with its inland situation, lacked in theory the problems affecting its neighbouring cities, but in fact its port at Elaia situated near the mouth of the Caicus was just as vulnerable to this process. Today the remains of Elaia are also well inland, which again illustrates that the silting-up process occurred here, while the sea has also receded along this stretch of coast in Mysia.[48]

Furthermore, Mithridates' ambitions in eastern Anatolia, especially with regard to Cappadocia and Galatia, will also have caused disruption to the main overland trade routes from Sardis via Phyrygia to the Taurus and beyond. Not only that, but there was civil strife in Syria between competing

factions for the kingship at Antioch between Antiochus VIII Grypus and his brother, Antiochus IX Cyzicenus (Liv. *Per.*, 62). Since the death of Antiochus VII Sidetes in 129, the Seleucid kingdom had become immeasurably weaker.[49] This, too, easily impacted on the economic life of Asia Minor as a whole and inevitably the Roman province of Asia. As if this was not bad enough, there had been incursions into Greece by the Thracian tribe the Scordisci, who had defeated a Roman army in Macedonia commanded by the proconsul C. Porcius Cato (Liv. *Per.*, 63).[50] The Scordisci advanced as far as Delphi, which was sacked, before retreating into Illyria (App. *Ill.*, 5), where they were later defeated by a series of Roman proconsuls operating from Macedonia and ultimately destroyed in the 80s.[51] Yet this constant source of uncertainty on the doorstep of mainland Greece will have contributed to the general insecurity affecting the entire eastern Mediterranean. Added to this was a serious slave rebellion in Sicily which had begun in 104 and was only quelled in 101 by the consul Manius Aquillius, son of the Aquillius who had ended the rebellion in Pergamum.

Taken altogether, it does appear as if Sulla's claim that the cities of Asia had done well for twenty-four years was probably inaccurate and that the whole region was struggling economically. This would certainly explain why there was animosity towards resident Italians in the Greek cities and why there should have been widespread support given to Mithridates in 88. The subsequent hostilities, of course, did nothing for the Greeks and they were by far the losers in this episode, while the king of Pontus came away with the treaty of friendship with the Romans. How unfair it must have seemed to the Ephesians, the citizens of Adramyttium, Tralles, Cos, Caunus, and others! All of these are identified by Appian, but next to his coverage of the outrages committed by the people of Ephesus, he notes those of the citizens of Pergamum:

> The people of Pergamum shot with arrows those who had fled into the Sanctuary of Aesculapius even while they were clinging to his statues. (App. *Mith.*, 4.23)

We can be certain, therefore, that the citizen body of Pergamum also suffered severely from the punitive measures imposed by Sulla. Coinage issued at Pergamum bearing the name of Mithridates, dated to between 88 and 86/5, shows at the very least that the king of Pontus maintained a garrison in the city and that its allegiance to Rome had very visibly been dropped.[52] It is also clear that Mithridates used Pergamum as his base from time to time from where to direct his operations in Greece and to counter

the invasion of Asia Minor by Roman forces in 86. Indeed Livy indicates that the forces of Fimbria attacked and invested Pergamum, which was taken after a siege, and that Mithridates was actually in residence at the time and narrowly escaped capture.[53]

> *Flavius Fimbria in Asia fusis proelio aliquot praefectis Mithridatis urbem Pergamum cepit, obsessumque regum non multum afuit quin caperet.*
> Flavius Fimbria routed several generals of Mithridates in Asia and captured Pergamum, and nearly captured the king when he was besieged. (Liv. *Per.*, 83)

No doubt the citizens of Pergamum enthusiastically changed their loyalties, for they too had suffered from the capricious rule of Mithridates when the armies of Sulla and Gaius Fimbria inflicted defeats on the Pontic forces which forced their withdrawal from the city.[54] Thus perceptible in Sulla's address was Roman despair or disgust at the way in which the Greeks often made violent changes in their political sympathies and alliances. The Ephesians, for example, had enthusiastically lent their support to Mithridates, but within a year – and clearly influenced by his reverses in Greece and his excesses elsewhere – they had recognized their folly.[55] They were certainly aware of the recent treatment meted out to the Chians by the Pontic general Zenobius, who had been forcibly removed from their city and enslaved (App. *Mith.*, 7.46–47).[56] When Zenobius arrived at Ephesus from Chios (App. *Mith.*, 7.48) he was instructed to enter only on condition that he came with a few attendants, all unarmed. Since the ἐπίσκοπος or overseer of the city, Philopoemen, was an appointee of Mithridates,[57] Zenobius felt he had nothing to fear. Philopoemen summoned the citizens of Ephesus to an assembly to hear the demands of Zenobius, but this meeting was postponed for a day. During the night the Ephesians had Zenobius arrested and executed, then manned their walls rather than submit to a possibly similar fate to that meted out to the Chians. Immediately, across the region cities such as Tralles, Hypaepa and Mesopolis followed suit in what evidently became a widespread popular rebellion against the king who had so recently been vigorously supported against the Romans. Indeed, the actions of the Greeks were viewed so seriously that Mithridates at first took military action against them, although he then seems mostly to have reached a political accommodation with the cities, granting them civic freedom, even to slaves, and a cancellation of debts. All the while, however, the backdrop is one of distrust and disorder, if Appian is right to claim (*Mith.*, 7.48) a conspiracy against

the king organized by four prominent individuals, two from Smyrna and two from Lesbos, who were exposed and killed, while numerous other leading citizens from around the region – including, it is said, eighty from Pergamum – were assassinated on information provided by informers, some of whom were former slaves or debtors.[58] It is claimed that Sulla took retributive action on these at the end of the war.

> Some of their accusers were captured by Sulla a little later and executed while others committed suicide and others still found refuge with Mithridates in Pontus. (App. *Mith.*, 7.48)

The events around the region affecting the local governing classes all occurred before Fimbria's campaigning in the Troad, where he is said to have destroyed Ilium on his way south in fighting against Mithridates' forces.[59] His capture of Pergamum provided him with one of the most secure bases from which to strike at Pontus. His success in turning back Mithridates from the Troad and Mysia-Ionia must have been galling to Sulla, who had defeated the Pontic forces in Greece but had yet to arrive in Asia. When he did so, he immediately set about undermining Fimbria's position. Fimbria's murder of his commanding officer, the consul L. Valerius Flaccus (cos. 86), on account of a private quarrel was well received by his army.[60] Appian (*Mith.*, 7.51) describes the commander as inexperienced and unfit to command, disliked by his troops, while his legate Fimbria was popular and a good general. Plutarch (*Sull.*, 23) also asserts that it was because of Fimbria's activities and his apparent intent to take the war into the Pontic homeland that Mithridates sought peace terms from Sulla. How, therefore, did Sulla manage to undermine the position of this commander? It is likely that, with a military campaign in full swing, there would not have been a problem in Fimbria's army, but, with the possibility of peace, tensions could easily have been exposed. The constitutional position of both generals was highly irregular and a minefield for any diplomat. Sulla had officially been declared a *hostis* by the Roman senate, which itself had fallen under the control of one party involved in a civil war. Fimbria may have represented the government at Rome, but was a private citizen when he murdered his commanding officer and so was in as illegal a position as Sulla. Mithridates' choice to negotiate with Sulla was probably motivated by that general's success against the forces of Pontus in Greece; Sulla also controlled the sea lanes by 85, while Fimbria would have had difficulty in extricating himself from Asia. Yet Fimbria held Pergamum with its almost impregnable acropolis; and Mithridates may not have been

as desperate as he is sometimes made out to be.[61] With two sets of enemy sitting close to his borders, what better way to obtain a lenient peace treaty than to sow discord between them? It should be remembered that Sulla was still not in Asia, although he may have reached Samothrace by the time negotiations started, and he certainly interviewed Mithridates in Dardanus on the Hellespont at the culmination of their talks. Fimbria was completely excluded from these and so were his troops. Sulla's army could be expected to benefit from the peace treaty, but Fimbria's men not at all, which probably accounts for the start of the desertions to Sulla. At this point the two armies were still at least one hundred miles apart, the one just arrived in the northern Troad, the other in the Caicus Valley. Mithridates' strategy worked perfectly, because he divided the interests of the two armies by giving significant advantages to the one over the other. Plutarch has Sulla claim (*Sull.*, 22) that he was forced to be lenient to Mithridates since the king might have made an alliance with Fimbria. Anything is possible in a civil war which had impinged on a war with an external foe, but Fimbria had been carrying the war vigorously towards Pontus, and had shown as yet no inclination to also become a *hostis*.[62] Yet the tangible rewards received by Sulla's troops will inevitably have rankled with those of Fimbria, who had done more harm to Mithridates' position in Asia. Sulla's army, it is true, had turned back invasions from Greece but had yet to embark on any campaigning at all east of the Hellespont.

After concluding his peace agreement with the Pontic monarch, Sulla, according to Plutarch (*Sull.*, 25) headed south towards Pergamum. Fimbria appears to have been encamped at Thyateira, which may indicate that Sulla was advancing from the north through Bithynia and not up from the coast, which might appear to have been the more logical route. At Thyateira, Fimbria's troops began to desert in large numbers and Plutarch insists that, numbed into inactivity by this mutiny, Fimbria committed suicide in despair. This certainly looks as if it has been extracted from Sulla's description of events: few details, and his own role deliberately reduced in significance. However, Appian has a far more detailed account of the death of Fimbria (App. *Mith.*, 9.60) which, he states, occurred at Pergamum and not in some anonymous legionary camp at the head of the Caicus Valley. Appian was probably drawing on Livy as his main source here and its sheer complexity compared with Plutarch's bland coverage again suggests the existence of a source much more sympathetic towards Fimbria.[63] Appian has Mithridates being pursued by Fimbria after the king's escape from Pergamum to Pitane, from where he fled to Mytilene on Lesbos. Fimbria's successes in Mysia were therefore quite spectacular, although the route by

which Mithridates eluded the Romans – to the west rather than to the east – illustrates just how unstable the region had become in the years following the invasion of Asia by Pontus in 88. Although Sulla was about to be provided with ships by his quaestor, L. Licinius Lucullus (App. *Mith.*, 8.56), clearly at this stage control of the sea lay with Mithridates.[64] The peace settlement between Sulla and Mithridates effectively pulled the rug from under Fimbria's feet, since he now had no enemy to pursue. Bithynia and Cappadocia were restored to their rightful rulers, Asia had already been liberated, and any other cities on the Aegean coast in Pontic hands were presumably also quick to expel enemy garrisons or fleets in anticipation of a reappearance of Roman presence and rule. Sulla's express intention now was to deal with Fimbria, although on what grounds is not disclosed by the sources, other than personal animosity between the two generals. Although it is not stated directly, it may well be that Appian (*Mith.*, 9.60) knew that Fimbria had been an enthusiastic supporter of Marius and Cinna in Rome in 88 and 87, when many of Sulla's friends and allies had been killed in civil unrest, and that Sulla simply regarded this episode as a personal feud and blood revenge. Fimbria, either in Pergamum or nearby, was besieged by Sulla – their armies were probably about equal in size – and the desertions gathered pace in the former's camp.[65] Fimbria tried all avenues from threats to bribery to try to compel his troops to follow him, but even his staff officers were tempted away. Fimbria was promised safe passage out of Asia if he surrendered, but instead:

> Fimbria said that he had another and a better route. He returned to Pergamum and entered the shrine of Aesculapius and stabbed himself with his sword. The wound was not enough to kill him and so he ordered a slave to drive the weapon home. The slave killed his master then himself. In this way Fimbria died who, in a similar fashion to Mithridates, had brought much suffering to Asia. (App. *Mith.*, 9.60)

Appian has added here a curious afterthought, which possibly reflects a more extensive digression by his source on the overweening pride or hubris of man. It may simply be an observation on Fimbria's treatment of Illium, but it seems hardly fair to compare the actions of Fimbria to that of Mithridates unless Sulla did so in his account and that has found its way into that of Appian. Conditions throughout the region then returned to some form of normality as Sulla departed, although the two legions formerly under the command of Fimbria were left behind under the command of L. Licinius Murena, who was named as governor of Asia.[66]

Since Pergamum relied on Elaia as its harbour and entry point from the west, the city was not directly affected by subsequent events around the coast of Asia Minor, although these certainly impacted on the coastal cities of the former kingdom. Burgeoning piracy rapidly took a catastrophic toll on the economy of the region. The pirates seem to have been mostly inhabitants of Cilicia, although their origins were no doubt discreet, and former mercenaries were probably well represented among them. The Romans – Sulla himself – had responded to calls to solve the epidemic, but the war with Mithridates had allowed the pirates a respite from any possible policing. The king of Pontus had openly encouraged these buccaneers and Sulla's eagerness to return to Italy in 86 saw this area once again neglected, perhaps purposely to cause further aggravation to the Greek cities.[67] The Second Mithridatic War, which comprised mainly an invasion by the Sullan appointee as governor of Asia, L. Licinius Murena, of Pontus and his subsequent defeat, must also have been financed by the cities of that province. Thus not only had these been assigned huge fines in 84 by Sulla, but almost immediately afterwards the citizens of these cities would have had to dig deeper into their pockets not only to provide the logistics of Murena's clumsily arranged war but also to finance what was mainly a failure. Murena had to make some face-saving terms with Mithridates and the economy of Asia can only have been slightly less than completely dysfunctional, caught between the demands of an unscrupulous proconsul whose objective – successfully, as it turned out – was the celebration of a triumph and a consulship, not fulfilled, and the equally wily king of Pontus who lost absolutely nothing in this war.[68]

The continuing conflict between Roman and Pontus did not directly affect the cities of Asia, since most of the fighting mentioned in the sources occurred around the Propontis and Hellespont and thereafter far into the interior of Anatolia when the Romans launched a series of invasions into Pontus and beyond. There is some indication, however, that hostilities did occur as far south and west as Lydia, Cilicia and Pisidia, where the king of Pontus appears to have ordered some diversionary tactics to be employed by one of his armies.[69] And, up to the end of the siege of Cyzicus, Mithridates clearly entertained hopes of suborning some of the Greek cities and their garrisons or even some of Fimbria's former legionaries away from their allegiances to Rome. Mithridates attempted to send considerable funds for just this purpose, perhaps aimed at the former mercenary settlements in the interior of Pergamum, but was foiled in this objective. For the most part, therefore, the 70s and 60s were years in which Roman generals such as Lucullus and Cn. Pompeius Magnus (Pompey the Great)

could be assumed to be infrequent residents in the province, but would also be expected to draw local revenues and contributions to finance this expensive war.[70] In 70/69 Lucullus, furthermore, was still exacting the fines with which Sulla had punished the cities of Asia (App. *Mith.*, 12.83) and, in that winter break in hostilities, additionally imposed a new twenty-five per cent tax on food production and further taxes on slaves and household property.

It is fair, therefore, to describe the Mithridatic Wars as catastrophic for the cities of the province of Asia, although Pergamum itself probably weathered this very violent storm even following a siege and the death of many of its most prominent citizens. In the first place, had the wars occupied only a short spell, rapid economic recovery would have been possible. It is true that the sources mention only the destruction of Ilium by Fimbria, but Chios had been depopulated by Mithridates and Athens, of course, had suffered badly in the siege and sack by the Romans. Survivors would have returned of their own free will or would have been encouraged to do so and the cities around Asia Minor and the Aegean would have recovered fairly rapidly, given any period of peace. Some cities will certainly have been rewarded for their loyalty to Rome or compensated for damage they had received. In connection with this, Appian (*Mith.*, 9.61) expressly notes that the people of Lycia and Rhodes and also the city of Magnesia received preferential treatment.[71] Moreover, the problem of piracy in the Mediterranean, if not completely solved, had been greatly reduced through Pompey's efforts in 67 and this would have undoubtedly allowed a resurgence in trade.

Trade and money supply go in tandem, and the wealth generated in the markets of the cities of Asia is clearly reflected in the output of coinage throughout the history of Pergamum as an independent state and then as one of the chief urban centres of the Roman province. Trade, of course, includes the payment of armies, which comprised large numbers of mercenaries, and their equipment. Payment for ships would also have been vital, since these were the means of transporting armies across the seas, while at the same time delivering essential commodities. For all these, huge sums of money were required by any state and Pergamum was no exception. As noted earlier, the mint authorities in Pergamum produced fine tetradrachm pieces from the fourth century and the Attalid dynasty had employed the coinage to good propaganda effect as well. However, the Pergamene coinage unique to the second century had been based on a tridrachm piece with its portrayal of a *kistos/cista*, a box or trunk, from which one or more snakes emerge or which are intertwined around it. This

chest containing snakes was an integral part of healing cults; it formed a part of the ceremonial of the cult of Dionysus and was also associated with Aesculapius. The coinage was introduced for the payment of annual tribute or *phoros* from the cities granted to Eumenes II at the Treaty of Apamea in 189. This coinage has thus become known as *cistophoric*.[72] By the time of the Roman occupation, the output of local coinage in the new province was centralized at Pergamum and Ephesus. According to Crawford, the mint at Pergamum under its kings had struck coins for Apamea and Synnada in Phrygia and Sardis in Lydia; Ephesus, already with a long history of coining, continued to do so; while Tralles produced for itself and also for Laodicea ad Lycum.[73] This continued to be the case after the transfer of power and indicates unwillingness by the new authorities to change existing financial structures, which operated at a local level within the overarching Roman system. However, far from disappearing after 133/29 BC during the incorporation of the kingdom by Rome, it continued in use and flourished, presumably fulfilling its previous function but now to a different and more distant overlord. Within Asia Minor as a whole, this coinage circulated locally as well, and probably more successfully than the denarius, but the local coinage was, of course, not exported.

The war against the pirates and the ongoing fight against Mithridates appear to have impacted heavily on the coinage in Asia, perhaps due to a lack of bullion, or because it was used instead to pay the Roman and Italian troops in denarii so that the *cistophoros* was not produced for some years.[74] However, following the conclusion of the Third Mithridatic War in 64/3, resident proconsuls made use of the local mints and coinage probably for the payment of locally raised militia, and they also placed their names on these issues. Thus the proconsuls of Cilicia, operating within sectors of Asia as well, P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther (56–53), Ap. Claudius Pulcher (53–51), M. Tullius Cicero (51) and Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, in Syria in 49, all initiated production.[75] Such activity suggests that some recovery was under way across the region. Yet it is also clear that this was patchy, for otherwise why would aid be given to, for example, Priene, Ilium and Termessus in Pisidia from the 70s down to well after Actium in 31?[76] On the other hand, the frequency of the epigraphic evidence in Asia, while shedding much light on the careers of individual public figures in the late Republic, also suggests that some cities were not as financially constrained as others.[77] Thus the civil wars after Caesar's death brought further large production of coinage, mainly to pay for Roman armies crisscrossing the eastern provinces, but this was again more often in denarii than the *cistophoroi* of the former kings.[78]

The peace and frontier settlement wrought by Pompey in the East between 64 and 63 was actually very short-lived, but probably of sufficient duration to allow some economic resurgence in Asia.[79] Although armies must have passed through in the mid–50s, causing their accompanying problems and drain on public finances, on their way to fight against the Parthians – the beginning of a tedious trend in Roman foreign policy – for the most part the evidence is of widespread peace.[80] For example, Cicero, who spent three or four months governing Cilicia in 51 – although he managed to contrive a military victory over some bandits which resulted in him being saluted as *imperator* by his troops and for which he later claimed a triumph – rather plainly shows stability and peace in the region.[81] The civil war which began in 49 initially centred on Greece, where, in the following year, Pompey was heavily defeated by Caesar at Pharsalus. However, even in the preliminary stages of the campaign at Dyrrachium in Epirus, Asia as a whole was engulfed in the uncertainty of a Roman internecine conflict on an unprecedented scale. Pompey had yielded Italy in order to collect and train his armed forces to face his opponent's veteran legions and now hoped to prevent Caesar gaining more than a foothold across the Ionian Sea. In order to bolster his forces, Pompey summoned his father-in-law, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio from Syria with all available military units; these moved west late in 49 to winter in Pergamum (Caes. *BC*, 3.31) and in other cities of Asia, and the cost of supporting them then and in the forthcoming war was to be borne by the provincials.[82]

> In the meantime tribute was exacted most harshly from the entire province. Further many different ways were devised to satisfy this greed. Tribute was ordered for every single slave, child, column, doorways, wheat, soldiers, arms, rowers, siege engines, forms of conveyance. And so in two years the province's debt was multiplied. (Caes. *BC*, 3.32)[83]

All this was to no avail, since Caesar not only extracted himself from Pompey's attacks at Dyrrachium but went on to outright victory later in the year. In the ensuing chaos the entire Mediterranean now became the theatre of military operations and Asia was not to be spared. Pompey fled via Mytilene on Lesbos and Attaleia in Pamphylia (Plut. *Pomp.*, 74.1, 76.1) to Egypt, where he was murdered near Alexandria.[84] Caesar followed in hot pursuit of his former son-in-law, pausing, says Appian, only long enough to issue amnesty to any of the cities in Ionia, Aeolia and Asia who applied to him in person, before sailing on to Rhodes and then Egypt (App. *B.C.*, 2.89). Caesar's own account adds some interesting detail, since he says

that he actually visited Ephesus, where he arrived just in time to prevent T. Ampius Balbus, an ally of Pompey's, from removing funds from the temple of Artemis (*BC*, 3.105) and that this was the second occasion on which he brought aid to the city ('*ita duobus temporibus Ephesiae pecuniae Caesar auxilium tulit*'). Caesar then goes on (unusually for him) to mention portents and omens, mainly concerning various temples of Athena/Minerva around the eastern Mediterranean which appeared to predict or celebrate his victory over Pompey at Pharsalus.[85] Caesar mentions the temples of Athena at Elis in the Peloponnese, Antioch in Syria, Ptolemais, and the temple of Athena at Pergamum where:

> [...] in the secret and concealed parts of the temple in which it is not permitted to enter except for priests, which the Greeks call the *adytum*, drums sounded. (Caes. *BC*, 3.105)

Caesar then says he delayed some days in Asia before setting sail to follow Pompey, whom he learned was heading for Egypt. Caesar presumably returned only after he had been freed from siege at Alexandria by Mithridates of Pergamum,[86] and after his campaign against Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bosporus, who had invaded and taken over Pontus,[87] which had ended in his defeat by Caesar at Zela (Plut. *Caes.*, 50.1–2; App. *B.C.*, 2.91). Appian states that after the famous comment regarding the victory at Zela, Caesar spent time in various cities in Asia dealing with complaints about the tribute before travelling by sea from Ephesus to Italy.[88] A new proconsul, P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus (cos. 47) was appointed by Caesar in more settled times and seems to have made a favourable impression on the local communities, especially Pergamum.[89]

However, Caesar's murder sparked a fresh round of civil war which was to last over a decade. Initially the tyrannicides led by Cassius and Brutus fought for supremacy against the alliance of Antony, Octavian and Lepidus. The campaign's focus was once again Greece, but Asia was not spared involvement since so many of the leading figures in this new bout of blood-letting were based at some time in the East. C. Trebonius (cos. suff. 45), one of the conspirators, received Asia as his province before Caesar's assassination and proceeded there at the usual time in the spring of 44. At Smyrna Trebonius was apprehended, tortured and murdered by P. Cornelius Dolabella (cos. 44) in early 43, who was en route to Syria, his designated province. The reason for the animosity between proconsuls lay in the fact that Trebonius was allied to Cassius and Brutus and the former had taken Syria illegally the previous year and looked set not to

give it up without a fight.[90] Dolabella arrived in Asia, but we are not told his port of arrival since he was denied access to Smyrna and Ephesus, with just a single legion. Having killed the legitimate proconsul, he then used the funds which had already been collected by Trebonius for Cassius and Brutus to equip another legion and marched across Asia Minor to meet his own death by suicide after he was blockaded inside Laodicea in Syria by Cassius. It was now Cassius' turn to march his army across Asia in order to meet up with Brutus at Ephesus, who had been at Cyzicus since early in 43. These formulated a plan to extract further tribute, not from the cities of Asia which had already been bled dry by Trebonius and Dolabella, but from Rhodes and the Lycian cities. They launched attacks on both, and the Rhodians indeed were forced to hand over 8,500 talents, although the Lycians were found to have no more than 150. Still, with this financial boost the two were able to fund their campaign against the triumvirs – to no avail, for in the end they lost their lives at Philippi the next summer.

Antony's arrival in Asia was to spell more trouble for the province. Having been assigned the eastern provinces of the empire in his dealings with the other triumvirs Octavian and Lepidus,[91] he was keen to emulate Caesar. This not only meant a love affair followed by marriage to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, for whom he pillaged the treasures of Pergamum, but also meant demanding more tribute from the communities of the region to reward his victorious troops after Philippi and soon to finance a war against Parthia and then against his fellow triumvir Octavian. Appian records a speech delivered by Antony to assembled Asian dignitaries in Ephesus:

> O Greeks! Your king Attalus left you to us in his will and at once we proved better to you than Attalus had been since we released you from the tribute which you had paid to him until the action of demagogues among us made these again necessary. But when they became necessary we did not impose them upon you according to a fixed valuation so that we could collect an fully certain sum, but required that you contribute a part of your annual harvest so that we would share with you the vagaries of the seasons. When the *publicani* who collected this tribute by order of the senate caused offence by demanding more than they should Gaius Caesar remitted to you one third of what you had paid them and ended their outrageous behaviour. And he turned over to you the collection of tribute from cultivation of the land. This was the kind of man whom our honourable citizens called a tyrant and you contributed vast sums of money to the assassins of your benefactor and against us who were seeking to avenge him. (App. *B.C.*, 5.4)

While they listened to this harangue which concluded with even more financial demands, many must have ruminated on the fact that the brief tyrannical rule of Attalus III had been followed by a century of Roman exactions often as brutally enforced as if by an occupying alien power such as Pontus or Parthia. 'Friends and Allies' the citizens of Pergamum may have become, but by the time of Antony's defeat at Actium and his and Cleopatra's subsequent suicide in Alexandria in September 30 BC and the start of Octavian's sole rule, they had become, in many respects, the poor cousins of the Roman Empire. In the end, the economic recovery which did take place under the peaceful times of Augustus' rule shows something of the resilience of the Greek cities and indicates that they must always have possessed vast reserves of willpower, if nothing else, in order to claw back their positions in the eastern Mediterranean. This is particularly noticeable in the resurgence in the *cistophoric* coinage, obviously under the direction of Augustus himself with the intention of following tried and tested customs.[92]

Chronology

133	Death of Attalus III (first half of the year) and Pergamum reconstituted as Asia
132	Death of P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (cos. 138) at Pergamum
131	Murder of P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus (cos. 131) near Myrina
130	Capture of Aristonicus. Death of M. Perperna (cos. 130) probably at Pergamum
129–126	M'. Aquillius proconsul of Asia
125	Implementation of Roman law in Asia
123	Tribute from Asia to be collected by the equestrian *publicani*
101	*Senatus Consultum de agro Pergameno*
98/5	Proconsulship of Q. Mucius Scaevola. First example of cult status for a Roman official in Asia
88	Invasion of Asia by Mithridates VI. Manius Aquillius murdered at Pergamum
88	P. Rutilius Rufus (cos. 105) at Mytilene
84	Treaty of Dardanus. Sulla at Ephesus. Suicide of Flavius Fimbria at Pergamum
80–40	Deiotarus tetrarch and king of Galatia
64–63	Pompey's settlement of the East
48	Caesar at Ephesus

47	Mithridates of Pergamum led an army to relieve Caesar besieged at Alexandria
47–44/3	Mithridates king of Cimmerian Bosporus
43	Trebonius murdered at Smyrna
42	Battle of Philippi and deaths of Cassius and Brutus. Antony at Ephesus
38	Library of Pergamum given to Cleopatra
31	Battle of Actium and defeat of Antony and Cleopatra
30	Octavian sole ruler of the Roman Empire

Chapter 4

Ruler Cults and Physicians

During the many uncertainties which characterized the first century BC as one of almost continual crisis, Pergamum lost its pre-eminent place in the province of Asia and gave way to Ephesus. Yet the city remained a prestigious one and in the religious life of the region retained its senior position. Part of the reason for the decline in the city's status was the Roman organization of the new province into judicial circuits centred on the numerous cities, all of which were supposed to be visited by the proconsul during his usually brief term of duty.[1] As chief representative of Roman law he heard all cases applicable to citizens of Rome, either giving judgement himself or passing on recommendations to the senate later to the emperor. Ephesus, on the other hand, gained from these administrative and structural changes simply because it was the point of entry into the province by every new proconsul and hence was the obvious place to start his work. It is clear from subsequent references to Pergamum, as we shall see, that its role – while changed – was not to be a negligible one.

At the beginning of the 20s, perhaps even as early as 29 BC, Pergamum took a lead position in Asia again with the dedication of a shrine to 'Roma et Augustus' (Tac. *Ann.*, 4.37.4). A council representing all the cities in the province, the *koinon* of Asia, asked for approval to dedicate such a cult to Octavian; this was approved and was the first institution of the 'ruler cult' at Rome for a Roman emperor (Dio,, 51.20.6–9).[2] It was, moreover, an institution that was to be copied in all provinces of the empire and usually – at least initially – in the senior provincial city. Hence, Ephesus may have contained the administrative capacity of the province and a shrine to Caesar, but Pergamum maintained its seniority through official sanction of the cult to a living ruler. No contemporary account remains of an event which must surely have caught the imagination of even the most jaundiced eye of a Roman elite well accustomed to what they regarded as Greek excess.[3] Cult status to rulers in the Hellenistic World had become a commonplace within a generation of the death of Alexander the Great

and the Romans from the second century had not been immune from such extravagant honours.[4] These honours had an everyday role to play in the civic life of the cities of the East. As noted earlier, cities often asked if they could be allowed to dedicate a shrine and provide an annual festival; in return, it was hoped for favours from the ruler. This Greek take on divine honours worked well when there was a single ruler; where there was a collective leadership, as in Rome officially at least until 31 BC, this request was likely to be declined if formally made to the senate, or condoned with a sleight of hand when it involved a powerful individual who might well not broadcast such an honour to fellow citizens. This changed, of course, after Actium, but Octavian (as Augustus after 27) found himself in something of a quandary, since he made great propaganda out of his claim to have restored the state as he had been required to do by the terms of the *lex Titia* in November 43, and so ruled in harmony with the Roman senate as a partner, but not as a monarch. To accept cult status, even in the East, would fully expose his hypocrisy, but his ego also evidently would not allow him to fully refuse such an honour. A compromise was adopted.[5] As Dio (51.20.6–21.1) states, Augustus (still then Octavian), it seems, allowed Ephesus and Nicaea, which the historian says were the pre-eminent cities in Asia and Bithynia respectively, to erect shrines to the defied Iulius and Rome, and stressed that Roman citizens in these cities alone were to offer sacrifices there. The Greeks, on the other hand, were allowed to erect shrines in Pergamum for Asia and Nicomedia for the Bithynians to himself and Rome. He therefore acknowledged a practice which had always existed in Greek society but in so doing, as Dio also notes, actually encouraged the practice to spread across the empire. The citizens of Pergamum were also allowed to celebrate contests, presumably annually, in Augustus' honour, and the same must have applied to the citizens of Nicomedia. There could also be a little more here than meets the eye. Just prior to Actium, Octavian had scored a great propaganda coup over Antony by obtaining and reading his opponent's will to the senate, in which Antony was said to have desired, in the event he died in Rome, that his body be sent to Cleopatra in Egypt. This was clearly regarded as outrageous behaviour to some, at least – especially since his liaison with the Egyptian queen was not recognized under Roman law. In almost the next breath, Plutarch records that another member of the senate, C. Calvisius Sabinus charged Antony with having given the libraries of Pergamum to Cleopatra as a present.

> Moreover Calvisius who was a friend of Caesar accused Antony with the following behaviour towards Cleopatra, that he had given her the

> libraries of Pergamum in which there were two hundred thousand volumes [...][6] (Plut. *Ant.*, 58.5)

The Museion in Alexandria had been burned in the siege of the city in 48 when Julius Caesar had been besieged there by one of Cleopatra's brothers, Ptolemy XIII, and the gift of the Pergamene libraries was clearly meant as compensation for that disaster. However, the grant of a favour to one party was a veritable catastrophe to another, since Pergamum lost one of its unique treasures which was never regained.[7] It is certainly conceivable that Augustus, mindful of this past abuse, allowed as compensation the foundation of a temple which was the first of its kind officially sanctioned in Asia and which would therefore always have a pre-eminent place in the cult practices of the province. Recompense for a pillaged library may seem a trivial reason to the modern reader, but provincial sensibilities had become an important element in the *tranquillitas* of the new age, and it is clear that down to AD 25 very few such cults were allowed anywhere in the empire.[8] However, cults honouring Rome were a different matter and in Asia these evidently had become almost a commonplace, for it is stated by Tacitus (*Ann.*, 4.36.2) that the citizens of Cyzicus, in the former Bithynia, but then a free city or *civitas libera*,[9] were deprived of their status (20 BC) because they had allowed the worship of Rome and Augustus to fall into neglect and had caused injuries to Roman citizens.[10] Here indeed were shades of events engineered by Mithridates VI in his invasion of the province of Asia and western Asia Minor in 88. The episode probably exposes – which Dio appears to confirm (54.7.6) – the tensions which must always have existed between the native urban populations and the large numbers of resident Roman citizens.[11] No longer was it a case of a local population, as in the past, say, in Athens or Syracuse, tolerating resident aliens or *metoikoi*, for now it was the foreign residents who had the more powerful and privileged social, legal and political positions. Levick has pointed out that the victims of such civil unrest may actually have been locals who had acquired Roman citizenship, although this merely accentuates the perceived difference in status.[12] Those who gained Roman citizenship would invariably have been members of the native elite; the unrest may therefore have been on quite a serious scale, yet their fate might not have brought such a strict intervention from the emperor.

Cults devoted to the new ruler of the Mediterranean World were not allowed to flourish unsupervised, and all requests for such new shrines and festivals were always brought before the senate and the emperor for discussion prior to approval and could as easily be rejected.[13] However, that

same level of supervision cannot have included the more material dedications such as the famous double gateway to the Square Agora in the centre of Ephesus. Two local Ephesian aristocrats, Mazaeus and Mithridates, both of whose names suggest ultimate origins rather further afield than Ionia, had this building erected on which their own names appear as those responsible for the building.[14] But the dedicatees were Augustus and Agrippa, so a date close to 19 BC and the latter's visit to the East is likely for its construction.

What brought Augustus and his co-ruler to the East, and Asia in particular, in the 20s and after is of some interest here. In the aftermath of Antony's and Cleopatra's suicides in 30, Octavian (soon to be Augustus) returned to Italy via Asia and so almost certainly in person sanctioned the foundation of the temple to himself and Rome at Pergamum before his departure for Rome. Agrippa was present again in 23 and for the next two years, while Augustus returned in 21, and it was foreign policy issues which drew them here. The Parthians had exacted a terrible defeat on the Romans at Carrhae in 53, murdering the commander, M. Licinius Crassus during a parley where he had come to discuss terms of a truce in an attempt to save some of the survivors of the recent battle. Fifty thousand Roman and allied infantry were lost and only some of the cavalry managed to escape and return to Antioch.[15] Added to the disgrace was the fact that three legionary standards were lost to the enemy. A little over a decade later, in 39, led by the rebel Roman general, Q. Labienus and the king's son, Pacorus, the Parthians invaded Syria and then advanced as far as Aphrodisias and Mylasa in Phrygia, pillaging both cities. This invading army not only came within the boundaries of the province of Asia but further west, therefore, than any oriental army had come since the battle won by Alexander the Great at the Granicus river in 334, and the Parthian army was only repulsed during the course of three fiercely fought battles and driven back beyond the borders of the empire.[16] In 36/5 Antony intended a severe reprisal for this invasion, not least the retrieval of the standards (Plut. *Ant.*, 37.2), but his own campaign achieved little and the eastern frontier remained unstable (Plut. *Ant.*, 40–51).[17] After Actium and his sole control of the empire, it might have been expected that Augustus, too, would launch a revenge attack on Rome's eastern neighbours, but that was not to be. Instead, diplomacy was employed to retrieve the standards while confirming existing frontiers. Augustus was therefore present in Asia directing these talks with the Parthians. He did not himself engage in any direct negotiations with the Parthian king, Phraates IV, but agreement was reached through intermediaries; and Tiberius, Augustus' stepson and

eventual successor, was sent to Armenia and there on the Euphrates river received back two of the lost legionary standards.[18] Yet this was clearly not the diplomatic triumph portrayed by Augustus on his coinage and in his *Res Gestae*, for Agrippa was back in Asia from 18 to 13 immediately after the former's return to Rome in 19. From then on, the status of Roman proconsuls in Asia clearly indicates that either a member of the ruling family needed to be present in person, or a public figure close to the regime was placed here. The fact that senior and trusted individuals had to be positioned here does not merely reflect the prestige attached to the post – for one thing, Asia was a wealthy element in the empire; for another, there was clearly concern about its vulnerability to attack. Thus the governors of Asia under Augustus and his immediate successors were invariably ex-consuls and many were the closest supporters of the regime, as a cursory glance reveals (see Appendix 3). The posting may have been an attractive one because of the wealth and fame of the province, but the calibre of its proconsuls also indicates its importance in the overall scheme of empire. Asia's wealth was a vital component in the income of the empire, just as the grain of Egypt was indispensable to the food supply of Italy. At some point fairly early on in the rule of Augustus, it was plainly recognized that without Asia the empire would be immeasurably weaker, hence the need not only for worthy representatives of the government but also those who would encourage continued loyalty and obedience to the regime. For the most part, the emperors got the mix right and the affairs of Asia were nurtured and the cities of the province flourished. Nonetheless, from time to time there were scandals.

Corruption in the administration of provinces, especially by proconsuls and the equestrian *publicani* or 'tax farmers', is generally regarded as one of the particular malaises of the Late Roman Republic, which contributed to its decline, fall and replacement with the government led by a single ruler who enforced, through salaried positions for officials and new forms of collection of annual tribute, fairer and less crooked behaviour by Romans sent to govern or administer these regions. This may, in part, be true, but it is equally clear that maladministration and criminal misconduct continued almost unabated throughout the period of the empire. Tacitus is a good source for such affairs which reached the notice of the emperor in the early part of the first century AD. And such misdeeds, indeed, regularly reached the ears of the emperors, because each province possessed a council with representatives from each community. This council had deliberative powers only but could seek redress of any perceived wrongs by appealing directly to Rome and, since most provinces possessed men of substantial resources

and influence, such appeals were readily heard and were often successful. The Name 'Council of the Asian Cities' (the *koinon* or *communis Asiae*) first appears on the coinage of Augustus in connection with the establishment of the ruler cult at Pergamum, and its powers and influence are clear from the successes it had in petitioning both emperor and senate in the matter of malfeasance by officials. Tacitus is particularly useful for studying Asia in this period for, as Syme observed, his interest in the province was partly generated from his own experience in that quarter, having been proconsul there himself some time after about AD 110.[19]

Either the propaganda machinery of Augustus' regime has successfully covered all record of corruption during his principate or, as is more likely, for most of the time his *auctoritas* curbed the excesses of subordinates sent to govern the provinces. There is, however, the case of L. Valerius Messalla Volesus (cos. AD 5), a proconsul of Asia who seems to have epitomized the very worst in Roman officialdom and scaled new heights, if that were possible, of criminal behaviour. The *consilium* of the Asian *civitates* responded quickly and it is probable that Messalla Volesus was condemned, although the sources are not fully explicit about the outcome of any trial.[20] The apparent upsurge in corruption under Augustus' successor might suggest that Tiberius was considered a much less formidable ruler, or that a historian such as Tacitus was sufficiently interested in such matters to expose them. That said, Tacitus also notes that Tiberius usually took the correct course of action once alerted to criminality in the provinces. For example, in AD 22, C. Iunius Silanus, a former proconsul and probably a member of the ruling dynasty,[21] was accused of extortion (*repetundae*) in Asia by the province, says Tacitus (*Ann.*, 3.66.1), which probably indicates that a delegation representing the various cities of the former kingdom of Pergamum would have arrived in Rome, sought an interview with the emperor and the senate and made their formal complaint in person. Tacitus states that Silanus was guilty and was also accused of *maiestas* by a number of influential senators. He was left isolated and convicted, though not on the more serious charges of treason against the emperor, and was exiled to Cythnos. In the following year, Lucilius Capito, the procurator or financial officer in charge of the collection of the annual tribute for the emperor, was accused by the province of exceeding his authority and probably of embezzlement, although that is merely implied by the historian.[22]

> The procurator of Asia, Lucilius Capito, being accused by the province was brought to court, and with the great and vehement assertion of the

> princeps, who said that he had given this man legal authority only over the slaves and revenues of his family, and if he had usurped the power of the proconsul and used military forces, and exceeded his authority they should hear the allies. Once this case was considered he was convicted. (Tac. *Ann.*, 4.15.3)

There were also the officials who had equally powerful friends and escaped conviction. Tacitus (*Ann.*, 12.33.1) mentions the equestrian procurator in Asia, Publius Celer, who was accused and apparently guilty of extortion but was protected because he had influence with the emperor Nero, but the citizens of Cibyra were successful in their suit against an unnamed procurator in charge of the grain supply in that part of Asia.[23]

Not only were the provincials of Asia active in seeking redress for wrongful acts, but also in seeking aid after various catastrophes which afflicted a region particularly prone to earthquakes. After such events, reconstruction was urgently needed and the necessary funds had again to be sought from the emperor. In the Ancient World, the inhabitants of the cities affected by natural disasters either relied on their rulers for aid to cover such emergencies or, failing that, appealed to private individuals or even loans to finance reconstruction. Recovery from events such as earthquakes was – as it is even now – an extremely haphazard process and could easily result in cities being entirely abandoned or reinhabited at a less civilized level.[24] In Asia, the Attalids had been replaced by the Roman senate and then, from 27 BC, the *princeps* or emperor. Indeed, in that year or soon after, appeals came to Augustus from the city councils of Tralles, Thyateira and Laodicea ad Lycum, all affected by a serious earthquake.[25] Dio (54.30.3) notes serious damage again in 12 BC which Augustus sought to remedy by paying the annual tribute from the province from his personal fortune in order to allow time for rebuilding. Tacitus, moreover, describes the destruction of several of the cities in Asia in an overnight seismic event in AD 17 and the subsequent restoration ordered by Tiberius.

> *Eodem anno duodecim celebres Asiae urbes conlapsae nocturno motu terrae, quo inprovisior graviorque pestis fuit. Neque solitum in tali casu effugium subveniebat, in aperta prorumpendi, quia diductis terris hauriebantur.*
> In the same year (AD 17) twelve famous cities in Asia were destroyed by an earthquake which happening at night was the more surprising and destructive. Because the land had been torn apart and swallowed up in such a case there was no refuge on open ground. (Tac. *Ann.*, 2.47.1–5)

If Tacitus' use of 'duodecim' and 'celebres urbes' was deliberate, then he must surely have had in mind the cities of the original Ionian League,[26] although, as it turns out, of the cities he names some are indeed famous, some considerably less so, and none in Ionia. Lydia and parts of Mysia appear to have borne the brunt of this natural disaster. Sardis appears to have suffered most, especially since the location was notorious for its instability and suffered numerous earthquakes in antiquity. It seems to have been at the epicentre of this particular episode, after which Tiberius pledged ten million sesterces and suspended all taxation for five years in order for the city to recover.[27] Besides Sardis, nearby Magnesia ad Sipylum was also badly affected and needed financial compensation, while Temnus, Philadelphia, Aegae, Apollonis, Mostene, Hierocaesarea, Myrina, Cyme and Tmolus were also hit hard and were exempted from taxation.[28] The cities of Pergamum, Ephesus, Smyrna and Miletus all clearly escaped the catastrophe, or were at least less violently damaged. The cities which are named show that the earthquake was centred on the Hermus Valley and most acutely delivered its blow to areas west and north-west of Sardis up to the Mysian coast. Myrina and Cyme were, of course, situated quite close to Pergamum, but such are the vagaries of earthquakes that some places escaped while others suffered devastation.[29] The emperor and senate despatched a high-ranking senator, M. Ateius, to the province to oversee the reconstruction efforts. His rank was that of *praetorius*, says Tacitus in order that there might be no conflict of authority between him and the proconsul, who was invariably an ex-consul.

Just five years later, in AD 22 – and, interestingly, at more or less the same time as the reconstruction of many of them had been completed through the generosity of the emperor – the leading cities of Asia were again in the news in a controversy over the authenticity and validity of their sanctuaries, many of which were famous throughout the Ancient Mediterranean. As with the establishment of many good institutions, some of these had subsequently been subverted and brought into disrepute by an overly liberal granting of sanctuary to persons who were regarded by the citizens of these cities as undeserving. The senate was asked to intervene following complaints, and the cities concerned were required to send representations to Rome. It is likely that the proconsul brought this issue to the attention of the emperor. Tacitus again, his interest clearly apparent, gives close attention to the fact that:

> [...] criminals were increasingly avoiding punishment [...] Runaway slaves filled temples. Asylum was granted to all comers without question.

> Those in debt escaped having to pay their debts and even those suspected of serious crimes were protected. It was one thing to preserve religious practices but these sanctuaries were giving succour to criminals and attempts to control this phenomenon resulted in civil unrest which the authorities could not contain. Therefore the cities concerned were summoned to submit the charters of their sanctuaries for scrutiny and send delegates to Rome. (Tac. *Ann.*, 3.60.1–4)

Tacitus states that some cities in Asia relinquished claims of obviously fraudulent cult centres but that many were concerned enough to send representatives to plead their cases before the senate, since sanctuaries were, after all, as much profitable institutions as they were places of veneration. Ephesus was mentioned first according to its seniority by then and its claim for its sanctuary to Apollo and Artemis, which was obviously of extremely ancient and famous origin. Equally important was the claim of Magnesia ad Meandrum and its sanctuary of Artemis Leucophryene with a charter granted by the Cornelii Scipiones after the defeat of Antiochus III in 190–189, when this city had remained an ally of Rome throughout the hostilities.[30] Aphrodisias and its cult of Aphrodite had a charter granted by the deified Caesar and the delegates of Stratoniceia were able to produce a more recent decree of Augustus for their cult of Zeus 'Of the Crossroads'. These were followed by several more, including Hierocaesarea and three Cyprian cities, but the business so wearied the senate, says Tacitus, that the consuls were instructed to hold investigations into the claims of others. The requests of those noted by Tacitus, plus that of the Aesculapion at Pergamum, were granted, but others were considered of dubious or – more politely – too ancient a character to be answered (*Ann.*, 3.63.1–3). These appear to have included that of Aphrodite Stratonicis at Smyrna, Artemis at Sardis and Apollo at Miletus (presumably the shrine at Didyma), and nothing is mentioned of other oracular shrines such as at Claros or Chrsye.[31] It is likely that, for the most part, the shrines were allowed to continue to offer their sites as sanctuaries, but that misuse in the future might well mean closure for cults responsible for stirring up civil disorder or inter *polis* discontent.[32]

A happier occasion brought a further delegation from the province to Rome about four years later, in AD 26, in a dispute which Tacitus (*Ann.*, 4.55.1) states had arisen between eleven cities, all of which wished to claim the right to dedicate a temple to the emperor Tiberius, his mother Livia, widow of Augustus, and the Roman senate[33] Now it might be supposed that these were the same eleven cities which had suffered

the damage nearly a decade earlier, and, while some indeed are present on this list, there is sufficient divergence either to suggest that Tacitus may be accused of actually having been rather vague about the earthquake cities or that this latest provincial argument was an entirely new one, yet at the same time his account points to flourishing local affairs in Asia once more. Some of the cities listed were the most prominent of the community and regarded by the emperor and senate as already sufficiently well endowed with cult centres. Pergamum already possessed its temple dedicated to Augustus and Rome which was the prototype for this cult in the Roman Empire, not to mention its shrine to Aesculapius. Ephesus and Miletus also had their respective famous cult centres to Artemis and Apollo.[34] On the other hand, four of those mentioned were deemed to be too insignificant to receive a state cult: Hypaepa, very close to Sardis,[35] Tralles, Laodicea ad Lycum, and Magnesia ad Meandrum. It is true that Magnesia was much overshadowed by nearby Ephesus, but it also contained a venerable cult to Artemis and had in the past – rather distant by then perhaps, but not lacking interest for contemporary Romans – been the last home to the Athenian general and supreme tactician Themistocles. The claims, too, of Ilium, says Tacitus, although considered on account of its ethnic ties with Rome and ancient fame, were excluded. Halicarnassus in Caria received some slight consideration from its claim that it had never suffered an earthquake in its 1,200-year history and that a new temple constructed there would rest on stable and firm foundations. Sardis and Smyrna remained from the delegates to be interviewed. The former emphasized their links with the Etruscans who were traditionally Lydians forced to emigrate due to famine,[36] and the wealth of their situation and longstanding ties with Rome. Tacitus makes Smyrna the last city to represent its case, which included a long and loyal support of Roman interests, and this indeed won the support of a majority of senators who voted to award the temple to the Smyrnaei. An ex-praetor, Valerius Naso, was selected to oversee the foundation of the temple on behalf of the proconsul, M. Aemilius Lepidus, who himself represented the emperor and the senate.[37]

Sadly our records are incomplete, since Tacitus' coverage of the years between 36 and 47 are lost, but he does note that another major earthquake hit the region during the reign of Nero in AD 59/60. It appears to have affected once again (see above) mainly Laodicea ad Lycum,[38] previously described by Tacitus as a place not considered important enough to house a temple to the emperor Tiberius in AD 26 but now treated as one of Asia's most famous cities.

> *Eodem anno ex inlustribus Asiae urbibus Laodicea tremore terrae prolapsa nulla a nobis remedio propriis opibus revaluit.*
> In the same year Laodicea, one of the celebrated cities of Asia, was ruined by an earthquake and recovered through its own resources and with no aid from us. (Tac. *Ann.*, 14.27.1)

The main point, however, is that whereas in AD 17 the cities of Asia requested aid and exemption from annual tribute in order for reconstruction to take place, forty years later this city, which had a more modest status than some others, was able to carry out the rebuilding itself and presumably maintain its financial obligations to Rome. This must surely indicate the extent of the wealth of the province during the mid-first century AD. That wealth was undoubtedly in the hands of an aristocratic elite, but at the same time much of it will have trickled down to the bulk of the population through the time-honoured practices of euergetism and liturgies. Thus municipal buildings and cult festivals, of which they were by now many, were financed by the wealthy members of the community. They also had their eyes on greater rewards, however.

A snapshot of life in Ephesus in the first century AD can be obtained from the account of the apostle Paul's visit there between about 57 and 59 (*Acts* 19–20) which, at the same time, illustrates something of the complex ethnic mix in the city.[39] Paul had become a regular speaker at the synagogue for three months before he was obliged to cease his preaching there because of opposition among the Jewish community, but after that he evidently had access to a school owned by a certain Tyrannus, where he remained in residence for two years. Towards the end of this time, so influential was his proselytizing that riots, engineered by the silversmiths, broke out (19.24). This outbreak of civil unrest appears to have had its origins in worries that conversions to Christianity would subvert the city's economy which, it was claimed by Demetrius, one of the silversmith, was based on the sale of silver offerings to Artemis. Demetrius seemed to think that the scale of Christian conversions, not only in Ephesus but throughout Asia, would result in the falling-away of their trade, which presumably derived a great deal from suppliants to the shrine of Artemis.[40]

> And the whole city was filled with confusion and having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, both men of Macedonia, and Paul's companions in travel, they rushed in a great crowd into the theatre. (*Acts* 19.29)

It is interesting to note that, even with riots in the streets, the use of the theatre as a place of discussion, inquiry and decision was still very much a

part of civic life. The two disciples of Paul were presumably to be subject to a trial, but, the due process of law not being followed, the matter quickly became chaotic; then, when tempers had run their course, normality returned without further injury or damage. Paul, who wanted to enter the theatre to intervene on behalf of the two, was persuaded against this move by other friends. Instead, a member of the Jewish community named Alexander attempted to speak on behalf of the arrested pair, but was shouted down when his ethnic background became known. For the next two hours, a chant of 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians' was kept up by the rioters, many of whom, it is said, did not know why they were there in the first place (19.32). Finally a magistrate was allowed to speak, and he seems to have calmed matters considerably by stressing the fame of the city as a place of worship of Artemis and assuring that no word against that worship could be uttered. However, he pointed out that the apprehended men were neither temple robbers nor had spoken out against the worship of the goddess. If Demetrius and the silversmiths had any reason to believe that a law had been broken by Gaius and Aristarchus, there was a due process of law to be followed and charges could be brought to the appropriate authorities. If that was done, then a properly convened meeting of the citizen assembly should solve the matter.

> 'We are in danger of being called to account for today's uproar, since we are not able to account for this disturbance and since there is no reason for it.' (*Acts* 19.40)

At that point the magistrate dismissed the assembly and the whole city returned to comparative normality. Nonetheless, it is clear that from Paul's abrupt departure for Macedonia soon afterwards that his safety had been severely compromised (20.1). His subsequent return to Asia en route to Jerusalem for the Passover encompassed a complete avoidance of Ephesus and he called instead at Miletus, which was evidently a friendlier or more peaceful city, even though its main source of revenue would have been from its famous oracular cult centre of Apollo at Didyma. At Miletus Paul summoned the elders of the Ephesian church to meet him, and he plainly chose not to venture to where he might again provoke a violent reaction to his presence, although this fact is glossed over in the text (*Acts* 20.16–17).[41]

The later fate of Paul also highlights a phenomenon which obviously became increasingly the normal practice during the empire – the administration of legal cases. The work of the proconsuls was more and more focused on legal matters rather than any other duty, least of all military

or financial, as the number of resident Roman citizens grew.[42] Where the proconsul was unable – or unprepared – to reach a ruling regarding a suit, he referred the matter to the senate and emperor at Rome and the defendant in any case was free to make a representation in person. The 'chamber pot affair' of 6 BC illustrates how an apparently trivial episode could become an immense affair once the intricacies of the law took effect. A chamber pot, apparently full, thrown by an individual from an upper storey in Cnidus killed a passer-by; the case was sent to Augustus to deliberate and he returned it to the proconsul to deliver a ruling.[43] Such referrals to the emperor already taking place a mere twenty years after the establishment of the Principate rapidly became normal practice during the first century AD.

Another snapshot of life in Ephesus, which throws light on a community in which the wealthy and the general populations interacted without intervention from central government, concerns the foundation in about 104 by C. Vibius Salutaris. This was a fund from which generous donations to the people and regular processions of statues of mythical founders, the current Roman emperor Trajan and his wife Plotina, and perhaps others, from the temple of Artemis to the city and back could be financed.[44]

> Salutaris' 'procession of statues' [...] proceeded along a circular route which began and ended at the temple of Artemis. The procession did not form one of the constituent parts of one of the major religious festivals in the city. Salutaris may have conceived the procession, but the demos *as a whole* approved the conception. (Rogers [1991], 80–1)

Like the episode of the riot of the silversmiths fifty years before, the city's administrative and consultative organs remained essentially Greek and Salutaris' gesture was a form of euergetism, common enough in the Hellenstic East, and a sort of voluntary liturgy.

Occasions such as those financed by the Ephesian Salutaris, who was also a Roman *eques* who had served in various Roman provinces either in a military or civilian capacity, must have been regularly held, if the evidence of Xenophon of Ephesus is an accurate reflection of life in the city.

> The local festival of Artemis was underway from the city to the temple a distance of seven stadia. All the girls had to march in the procession, richly dressed and all the ephebes including Habrocomes. He was about sixteen years of age already a member of the ephebes and had a prime place in the procession. There was a great crowd of citizens and visitors

> to see the festival for it was the custom for husbands to find wives and wives husbands. And the procession marched past. First of all there were the sacred objects: the torches, baskets, incense, then the horses, dogs and hunting equipment [...] the girls were dressed as if to receive a lover [...] Soon the procession was over and the crowds went to the temple to make sacrifices and people standing along the way moved off. (*Ephesian Tale of Anthia and Habrocomes*, 1.2–3)

Salutaris' endowement exemplifies the growing phenomenon of the Asian provincial who had acquired Roman citizenship but did not forget his local and civic duties; and demonstrates, furthermore, that a citizen's personal wealth could allow indulgence in this activity and that this was not an isolated example, which goes some way to illustrating the fact that Ephesus, probably like many of its neighbours, flourished at this time. Indeed it was a city, according to Philostratus (*Life of Apollonius*, 8.7.9), writing a century later, consumed with luxury.[45] That view, of course, depends very much on what is generally considered 'good' or 'bad' luxury: Philostratus was writing primarily about diet, which, if excessive, in antiquity was regarded with disfavour. It simply has to be remembered that, for example, Sybaris in Magna Graecia was notorious apparently for its lifestyle, but also Syracuse and other cities in Sicily as well. Salutaris' foundation was not an instance of 'bad' luxury and was, rather, an example of conspicuous consumption by the socio-political elite of the urban provincial communities, which was regarded as a favourable element of city culture. How far this phenomenon of individual wealth permeating into the wider citizen body extended to Pergamum is difficult to quantify. Pergamum certainly seems to have been doing very well at this time. Apollonius appears to have made several visits there, invariably, it seems, in connection with the cult of Aesculapius (4.1, 4.9, 4.34), which was clearly highly popular and well frequented by visitors who must have been a source of much income to the city. The one example which can be compared with events in Ephesus was the construction on the uppermost level of the acropolis of a temple dedicated to Zeus and Trajan. The initial finance for this ambitious project was provided by C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus (cos. II suff. 105), a native of the province, who was proconsul of Asia between 106 and 107.[46] This building work was on a much grander scale than the Salutaris foundation, but it again reflects the gradation in conspicuous consumption between the successful Roman *eques* and the successful Roman senator and general. Ephesus was not to be beaten in terms of scale and the Museion of Celsus, dated to the reign of Hadrian, represents much the same sort of gift to the city as

Quadratus Bassus had been responsible for at Pergamum. Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (cos. suff. 92), proconsul of Asia immediately preceding Quadratus Bassus, was another local dignitary who had made a successful career in Rome. His heirs made the gift of what has now become an icon of ancient Ephesus sometime in the 120s as a memory to this public figure, and no doubt the library also attracted munificence from the emperor Hadrian (117–138), whose love of Hellenic culture and Asia in particular was to account for a great surge in public constructions in the province.

Public and political prominence for the ambitious and the wealthy followed the possession of great fortunes very rapidly. Individuals, especially from the passing of the Attalids, had long possessed pre-eminence in their cities which they dominated politically and socially; besides this, they could aspire to a presence on the provincial council, the *koinon* or *Communis Asiae*, bringing the opportunity to visit cities beyond Asia, especially Rome, in some official capacity.[47] Having witnessed other members of provincial elite families winning ever more prestigious honours, these too were sought out and were to be obtained. But citizenship and *amicitia* with socially equal personages in Italy and Rome was not enough, and it was to be numbered among the governing circle – which, of course, in Rome meant the senate or the personal friendship of the emperor – that became the ultimate goal. It is true that certain individuals had been raised far beyond the boundaries of Asia. Polemon of Laodicea ad Lycum, son of the rhetor Zeno, had been made king of Pontus by Antony, and when this kingdom was joined to Bithynia his family can have expected a suitable payoff, although not, it seems, senatorial status.[48] The advent of the senator from the East could not be long delayed after Claudius had admitted Gallic notables from not merely Gallia Narbonensis but also Gallia Comata from AD 47 and after senators from Iberia followed in their path.[49] Senators from Asia were clearly represented among the lower offices of the *cursus honorum* by the mid-first century, even if in low numbers, and during the rule of Domitian the first consuls appear in the *fasti*, to be followed by others under Trajan.[50] Although his origin was from next-door Galatia, C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus (cos. suff. 94, II 105) was a figure close to Trajan and is credited by Syme with great wealth and a Pergamene connection, although what specifically we do not know.[51] We do not know what made him decide to pour personal funds into the building of a temple to Zeus and Trajan, but it was, in part, another example of outstanding euergetism and probably a promise to make a dedication to the deity for some request fulfilled, perhaps the second consulship of 105.[52] The family of Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus, who held the consulship shortly before Quadratus

Bassus, is said to have originally come from either Sardis or Ephesus.[53] His father had been granted Roman citizenship by the emperor Tiberius, as his nomenclature indicates. He is among the first of the Asian provincial elite to win the consulship. The construction of the Museion in his honour was a further example of private munificence which enhanced the status of this city. The Quadrati Bassi and Celsi Polemaeani represented local families who had been Roman citizens for at least a generation and had served, at a senior level, the emperors in Rome and around the empire in various official capacities, but it is interesting to observe that the ties of home were still strong. The material gifts well illustrate their local connections, but also, in celebrating their own successes, they drew attention to the glorious past of the former kingdom of Pergamum and its cities.

The death of the emperor Domitian may have occurred in the imperial palace on the Palatine Hill at Rome in 96 (Suet. *Dom.*, 16–17), but it was an event which was simultaneously witnessed in Ephesus, at least according to Philostratus in his *Life of Apollonius* (8.25). The philosopher Apollonius of Tyana was giving a lecture in the theatre when he suddenly had a form of seizure or fit in which he saw the murder of Domitian take place in front of him in a vision. Apollonius was rather prone to visionary experiences, especially when it came to Domitian,[54] and the writer of his biography knew that his subject had an axe to grind in this respect. But the presentation to an audience in the theatre illustrates both its function as a meeting place and also the extent of the interest in Apollonius, whose reputation as a healer was widespread and influential, especially in Asia. Medicine, healing powers and cult inevitably lead from Apollonius in the theatre at Ephesus to Pergamum and Galen. Apollonius hardly had time to enjoy the demise and *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian before he, too, died sometime around 98 or 100. Galen, probably the most famous citizen of ancient Pergamum, was born just thirty years later, and as a young man was physician to the city's gladiator troop, a post which must have been a quasi-official one and which was considered to be an honourable position for an elite citizen to hold. All forms of entertainment were linked to cults and festivals for the deities and Galen's interest in medical cures and healing – and indeed his life's work – stems from the power and influence of the cult of Aesculapius and the various influential teachers such as Apollonius who had associations with it.

It is worth concluding this chapter with the observation that, remarkably, the life and career of Galen, very much a figure of the Ancient World, overlapped chronologically with that of Polycarp, the Christian bishop at Smyrna and a figure more comfortable with the Middle Ages. The

martyrdom of Polycarp during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, who was notably the patron of Galen, ushers in a transition in the Greco-Roman World. Typically the Ancient World is regarded as a highly conservative environment with entrenched and unchanging values, but that was not so, and the socio-political environment was constantly evolving and in a state of flux. The cities of Asia were leading centres in this process of both mindset and perception shifts. By then Pergamum already possessed a history of more than half a millennium since it was first mentioned by Xenophon in the concluding sections of his *Anabasis*.

Chronology

31 BC	Battle of Actium
30	Suicide of Antony and Cleopatra at Alexandria
29	Temple to Rome and Augustus at Pergamum
AD 17	Major earthquake in the Hermus Valley
54–68	Thasylus of Tralles physician to Nero
57–59	Paul in Ephesus
90s	Epidemic (plague) in Ephesus
92	Consulship of Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus
96	Murder of Domitian foretold by Apollonius of Tyana at Ephesus
105	Second consulship of C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus
106/7	Temple to Zeus and Trajan begun on the acropolis in Pergamum
120	Museion of Celsus at Ephesus
130s	Reconstruction of the Aesculapion at Pergamum and Temple of Serapis begun
162	Galen left Pergamum for Rome
166–169	Galen in Pergamum
169	Galen returned to Rome

Chapter 5

The Journey East and a New World

This chapter deals with the history of the city of Pergamum and the province of Asia in the period which is called the Later Roman Empire. It starts with the dramatic events of the third century AD when Rome's universal dominion appeared to verge on disintegration and collapse, only to be rescued largely through the efforts of a single man named Diocletian, whose twenty-year rule (AD 284–305) brought a return to stability in the Mediterranean.[1] This new calm prolonged the presence of this vast political structure for a century and a half in Western Europe and far longer in Asia Minor. At the same time, as a consequence of long-term uncertainty, it also ushered in a new world. This survey ends with a glimpse of Pergamum towards the end of Byzantine rule in Asia Minor and its subsequent transformation into the modern Turkish city of Bergama.[2]

At the outset – and almost by the way – it is interesting to observe that almost from the death of Eumenes II in 159 BC (Attalus II was so much more a manager of affairs than his brother), the kingdom of Pergamum and his Roman successor produced no great military figure. On the other hand, Asia later achieved an unsurpassed reputation for excellence in its teachers and educators, who ranked among the pre-eminent in their world for their erudition.[3] The philosophers of Pergamum and those who were attracted there, many of whom had their origins in the cities which had formed old Pergamum or had been Attalid foundations, dominated learning in the Late Roman Empire and afterwards, and so heavily influenced not just Christian thought but every aspect of philosophical and rhetorical training, creative and didactic writing.

MacMullen has commented that there is no evidence for a decline in the fortunes of the cities of Asia in the Later Rome Empire,[4] and, indeed, he argues that relatively prosperous conditions especially applied for the fourth century. This conclusion is based on the evidence primarily from Ephesus and Sardis, but is it certainly a reflection of prevailing conditions for most of this time?[5] MacMullen considers that:

> At Ephesus and Sardis there has been excavation amply sufficient to allow a general appraisal of their health in the late empire. It was excellent. Ephesus flourished [...] up to 614, thanks to its connections with a well-maintained road system, to say nothing of maritime trade. Of other cities we know considerably less: Antioch in Pisidia, Miletus, Smyrna, Pergamum [...] on balance however they must be pronounced prosperous, if little Priene had become even smaller, the substantial Nicomedia had been dramatically embellished and enlarged and, when it suffered from an earthquake in Julian's reign, was munificently relieved by him. (MacMullen [1988], 34)

After the murder of Commodus in 193 and the subsequent civil war which brought Septimius Severus to power, the depredations of this latest internal conflict were felt across the whole empire. After more than a century of peace, the empire had prospered and the cities of Asia had benefited greatly. However, C. Pescennius Niger, one of Severus' competitors for power, had been proconsul in Syria before assuming the title of emperor, and his power base lay in the East. Severus, who had obtained power in Rome after defeating his other competitor, Clodius Albinus, therefore moved east to engage with his opponent. Niger's most influential supporter, the proconsul of Asia, Asellius Aemilianus, was defeated and killed at Cyzicus by Severus' forces, and Niger was blockaded in Byzantium. He escaped from Byzantium and headed to Nicaea, where he was again defeated and withdrew across the Taurus. Soon afterwards Severus caught up with him at Issus, where he was again defeated. Niger fled to Antioch, where he died either before or after capture in the spring of 194. The *Historia Augusta* maintains that Pescennius was caught and mortally wounded near Cyzicus:

> Although Severus promised him safe exile if he laid down his arms, he went on and fought again, was defeated and, while taking flight near a marsh at Cyzicus, was wounded and brought to Severus in this state, and immediately died.[6] (*HA* Pescennius, 6.1 = Birley [1976], 229)

Dio's account (75.6.1–8.3) is quite hostile towards Pescennius, but gives a more detailed and presumably more reliable version. Aemilianus was defeated and killed near Cyzicus; however, the battle among the hills outside Nicaea Pescennius came close to victory but was driven back into the city as night fell. Pescennius had obviously retreated, for he is next described as being at Issus, although he could easily have been some

distance from the coast, since he is also said to have been defending the Cilician Gates. Severus was not present, but the command of his army was held by P. Cornelius Anullinus with his senior legate, named as Valerianus. Initially, Pescennius had the upper hand, but a violent thunderstorm broke and, more importantly, Valerianus outflanked his enemy's position and attacked from the rear. Once the classic encircling manoeuvre had been accomplished, Pescennius' forces were cut down or fled. Dio records that 20,000 of Pescennius' troops died and that their general was caught in flight near Antioch and killed.

The course of these campaigns illustrates that armies were once again on the move around the region and would inevitably have brought disorder and destruction in their wake. Severus ruthlessly eliminated Niger's supporters, while Byzantium, which defied orders to surrender, was also sacked and destroyed, but then rebuilt probably because of its strategic value. The fate of other cities in Asia is not recounted. Many will have made sure that they switched allegiance from Aemilianus to Severus just in time to avoid catastrophe, but, as in the past, the costs of the war would have been placed on the local community. At least with a new peace enforced by a strong ruler, recovery would have come at relatively low cost. The experience, however, must have come as a great shock to those who had never before suffered the tribulations of warfare – a state of affairs which, for that part of the Ancient World, was by then almost beyond memory. Sadly for the inhabitants of Asia Minor, this unstable state of affairs was to become much more familiar in the next decades.

Severus died in York in 211 and was succeeded by his two sons, Antoninus, better known as Caracalla, and Geta. Caracalla (211–217) may not be remembered as a particularly effective ruler of the Roman Empire. His time at the helm was brief and is today mostly remembered for his act of fratricide and the mostly empty gesture of granting citizenship to all those free-born males within the empire.[7] In 214, having settled his northern frontiers, he crossed the Hellespont, not for the first time in his life, intent on leading another campaign against Parthia, and this time clearly intent on emulating Alexander the Great, whom he – like many other emperors – held in particular esteem.[8] Before he carried on his way – and indeed met his death by violent assassination on the road between Carrhae and Edessa on this campaign – he visited Pergamum (Dio, 78.16.8).[9] It is said that the visit to the city was intended partly as a rest cure undertaken at the shrine of Aesculapius, where Caracalla went looking for a respite apparently from nightmares or visions reminding him of the violent murder of his brother Geta, which had taken place in either late 211 or early 212. The 'patients' of

Aesculapius, as was the case with the clients seeking the aid of most deities, spent the night in the portico of the temple in the hope that the god would visit while they slept and cure the problem.[10] In this instance there seems to have been some marked improvement in Caracalla's condition, for afterwards he lavished *beneficia* or largesse on the city.[11] Nevertheless, he did not remain there for long, since Dio states (78.18.1) that he spent the winter of 214–215 at Nicomedia preparing his army for its forthcoming campaign. From there he proceeded to Antioch by way of Prusias and Ancyra in the spring.[12]

However, there is perhaps more here than meets the eye and there should be some considerable caution in accepting the evidence, even that provided by Dio, who evidently knew the emperor but clearly also has an axe to grind on his account, while other literary material such as that of Herodian is plainly very hostile. First of all, Caracalla, like Hadrian, Trajan and Augustus before him, was a great admirer of Alexander and plainly wished to follow as closely as possible in his hero's footsteps. Thus the crossing of the Hellespont was followed by a tour of the Troad which included visits to Ilium, where he celebrated games in close imitation to Alexander, and then went to Alexandria Troas which issued coins referring to the shrine of Apollo Smintheus at Chryse.[13] Alexander is not known to have visited this oracular shrine since all attention is focused on his visit to Ilium, but it is highly unlikely that he would have neglected to come to the site which was so inextricably tied to the events of the *Iliad*.[14] Alexander had been a scrupulous visitor to oracular shrines in his campaigns and Hadrian, too, had been most particular in his religious observances – and Caracalla was clearly intent on imitating these figures. The visit to Pergamum was, therefore, a natural extension of this series of engagements. The cult of Aesculapius and its precinct (see Chapter 4) brought many benefits to the city, since it drew many devotees from far and wide. Caracalla was not its only famous visitor. Johnston notes that Aelius Aristides was a habitué and that he was visited by the god recommending medicine composed of vinegar and wormwood.[15] But Pergamum possessed many other shrines – some just as important as that to Aesculapius. The cults to Rome and Augustus, to Trajan and Zeus, to Athena and to Dionysus were all equally important in the religious life of the city. That Caracalla seems to have paid special attention to renovations of a number of shrines implies that Pergamum by the beginning of the third century no longer had secure financial resources, but that it was still regarded as a city with some prestige. The coinage issued at this time suggests that most, if not all, were meant to benefit from the emperor's *beneficium*. Thyateira, too, for

many years a city within the old kingdom of Pergamum, was particularly honoured by Caracalla, who enlarged its *chorē* by removing some land from the jurisdiction of Sardis, and the city in due course repaid this attention by issuing commemorative coinage.[16]

The temple to Dionysus and Caracalla is not the grandest structure in Pergamum by any means, situated as it is along at the far end of the terrace which holds the great theatre cut from the bedrock immediately below the pinnacle of the hill containing the royal residences. As the dedication to the joint deities implies, this temple contained a cult which followed the, by now, regular practice of linking an emperor either with the cult of Rome or with another deity. Nothing unusual there, except that this was the third such cult granted to Pergamum,[17] but any new construction work was more in the way of a restoration of an existing building, which must obviously have been there – or close by – since the original building of the theatre whose use was associated with the Dionysiac cult. The remaining column drums are fluted, indicating that the temple was probably finished, unlike many of those around the ancient Mediterranean World. The nearby, very much larger temple of Artemis at Sardis and the temple of Apollo at Didyma, south of Miletus, were both never finished, as the lack of flutes to the columns of their outer colonnades amply illustrates. Moreover, at Pergamum the temple to Zeus and Trajan, although apparently completed, stands fringed by a colonnade dating to the time of Hadrian, a century before Caracalla's visit, which clearly is incomplete. Once again, this shows that the finances for grandiose projects within an urban context could be extremely tenuous. For those temples in Pergamum earmarked for repair or renovation for which funds had only recently been released, the source had in all probability been rapidly exhausted or was no longer available.

The reason is almost certainly related to the murder of Caracalla in 217. Cassius Dio, our main source for the period, was himself a citizen of nearby Nicaea and held the proconsulship of Asia, as he states himself (80.7.4), to which he was appointed by Caracalla's successor, the former Praetorian Prefect Marcus Opilius Macrinus.[18] The new emperor must obviously have reversed the largesse of his predecessor, which is perhaps an indication of financial stringency imposed after a period of extravagant expenditure.

> The people found it easy to avoid detection at the hippodrome and made bold by the crowds present raised huge protests at the horse-races celebrating the birthday on September 14th of Diadumenianus [...] the citizens of Pergamum, deprived of the privileges which they had previously received from Tarautas (Caracalla) heaped many of the most

> extreme insults upon him (Macrinus) for which in return he publicly dishonoured them.[19] (Dio, 79.20)

Dio goes on to reflect that it was the open contempt of the Pergamenes for the emperor which caused the unrest among the troops to escalate and which resulted in the rebellion of the Syrian legions the next summer, who defeated the emperor at Antioch. Macrinus fled west, intent on escape to Italy, but was captured near Chalcedon and murdered in Cappadocia, while his son, sent to Parthia for safety, was intercepted and also murdered. Dio's comment about the crowds in Pergamum is, however, illuminating, in that it shows that, although powerless against an autocrat, en masse complaints could still be voiced and the extent of popularity or lack of support could still be measured. Macrinus was unwise to ignore the warning signs of unhappiness with him and his regime, which was easily transferred from the public at Pergamum, and probably elsewhere, onto his army and which he was later unable to control.[20] The extent of this particular example of civilian hostility to the government was clearly not soothed by the delivery of races in the hippodrome, which Dio shows plainly enough were themselves associated with other rituals. As Harl has argued, the cults of a city were especially important for its citizens across the entire social spectrum, and therefore:

> [...] the foremost concern of a city should be the preservation of its cults, because the gods gave their city its identity and prosperity. From the emperor's viewpoint, his visit to a Greek city became a pilgrimage – a means of securing and retaining the patriotic support of his Greek subjects. Through the advent and other rituals, the distant imperial war on the Euphrates was made into their war as well. (Harl [1987], 54)

The elite citizens of wealthy cities would have been expected to contribute financially to the war effort and therefore playing to the gallery in terms of granting new or re-establishing old cults was essential for the emperor. Caracalla evidently knew exactly how to win approval from his citizens and this enthusiasm would have transferred itself to the troops under his command. The armies of the later Roman Empire were no longer primarily Italian in composition but, for a number of generations, had been drawn from provincial recruits. In the East the legions had come to possess a high percentage of local men who shared the aspirations and fears of their *poleis*. Caracalla's astute mix of religiosity and generosity shows that the accounts of any personal nervous disorder he may have suffered from were greatly

exaggerated, since it simply really allowed him to worship and give due supplication to a wide range of deities and even quasi-prophets such as Apollonius of Tyana.[21] In so doing he increased his own popularity among the people and the army and laid as firm foundation for a successful military campaign as he possibly could. Macrinus, on the other hand, was clearly lacking in the same appreciation of the social-religious situation with which he was confronted and did not have the ability to deal with the political nuances demanded of him. That he made no attempt to cultivate the support of the communities in Asia must have been seen as antagonistic at the least, but also dangerously irreligious. His insults to the people of Pergamum must have struck many as foolhardy and ominous. His fall from grace in little over a year is therefore hardly remarkable.

Dio further reflects on the confusion which followed the murder of Macrinus in 218 and the first months of the reign of Elagabalus, which he evidently experienced first-hand. He mentions Pergamum and Smyrna, although surprisingly omits Ephesus which perhaps escaped unscathed, and notes disturbances in the fleet stationed at Cyzicus and unrest at Nicomedia. There was clearly a great deal of instability and, says Dio, the ambitions of many were encouraged because 'many men had usurped the highest rule contrary to expectations' (80.7.3). That being the case, the region had to endure a second bout of military presence and undoubtedly damage to the economy within two decades. More was to follow, however. Some normality did return, as the epigraphic evidence from places as far afield as Aphrodisas, Ephesus, Nicomedia and Nicaea confirms, but there is no specific mention of Pergamum at this crucial time in the history of the Roman Empire.[22]

It has been argued that the provincial reforms attributed to Diocletian during his time as emperor on the basis of evidence provided by Lactantius (*de mort. pers.*, 7.4) were in fact inaugurated up to twenty-five years beforehand, and that the ancient literary evidence is not a sound guide for these changes to imperial administration.[23] Indeed, for confirmation of what was happening on the ground, evidence should be sought from elsewhere. It is therefore argued that the epigraphic evidence particularly from Aphrodisias, which has been dated to the middle of the third century, perhaps during the joint rule of Valerian and his son Gallienus, suggests some division in the organisation of the region. An inscription dedicated to a M. Aurelius Diogenes reveals that he was ἡγεμών, the usual title for a governor, although not necessarily a proconsul, of a province which presumably had its gubernatorial seat in this city.[24] Of similar date, another inscription honours a certain T. Oppius Aelianus Asclepiodotus who is

categorically named as having been at various times in his career both governor of Caria and Phrygia and the proconsul of Asia. The evidence accumulated by Roueché resulted in the argument that during the middle years of the third century, certainly after Trajan Decius's reign, Asia lost Phrygia which was joined to Caria as a separate *provincia* and that later still Diocletian broke up this relatively new arrangement further by making Asia, Phrygia and Caria three separate provinces. Rouché also suggested that prosperity, rather than crisis, made such administrative divisions a welcome necessity for the inhabitants, since the government of Greater Asia ministered from Ephesus was impractical and inefficient, especially for smaller communities in the region, and the new provincial units made access to the governors and their staff easier. However, two other inscriptions refer to appointments of officials in Asia whose brief was to restore affairs which had 'gone wrong', and these probably refer to military problems rather than civil.[25] It is suggested that troops now stationed in Asia had been guilty of some misconduct which these officials corrected and were then thanked by the community at Aphrodisias. It seems probable, therefore, that a military presence was not intended for the control of the civilian population, which was both prosperous and settled, but rather as a shield against external hostile elements.

Hence there has more recently been an adjustment to this thesis linked to the military situation in the middle years of the third century, arguing that a temporary division of responsibilities occurred within this large provincial unit caused by the instability of the times and that, in due course, the former administrative system was restored until finally altered by Diocletian.[26] This location of garrisons resident in Asia must surely coincide with the most serious incursion of the East since the civil war of the mid–190s. Armies continued to march through Asia in the rule of Elagabalus' successors, particularly Severus Alexander and Gordian III, since the empire was now faced with a more threatening situation from Parthia where a new dynasty – the Sassanid – had taken power and whose kings – Ardashir and Shapur I – threatened Syria. The situation was held, but there is evidence that the farmers of Asia were suffering from the extent of requisitioning demanded from the military.[27] For all that, some compensation may be indentified through repairs to the road system in the Meander Valley, in the Troad, the road linking Pergamum to Sardis via Thyateira, and along the coast at Elaia; and, in fact, the roads across Asia Minor as a whole appear to have received attention from the authorities. The local communities may have responded with shows of gratitude to the ruler, but repairs to roads which primarily had a military function need

not always have enhanced the lives of the city dwellers. However, it is worth pointing out that some of the renovations were to roads not necessarily needed by armies marching east to Antioch intending to engage with possible Parthian invaders.[28]

But it was not from the renascent Parthian kingdom that the danger came when it finally arrived. At some point during the middle of the third century, Ephesus suffered extensive damage, which is attested from archaeological evidence of rebuilding of the fortifications and signs of general disrepair.[29] The literary sources are imprecise and, as a whole, the evidence is open to quite discrete interpretation. Ammianus' history of that period is lost, but in Book 31 the historian reflects on the history of incursions by 'Germanic' tribes and mentions a sea-borne attack by Goths in a fleet numbering 2,000 ships, an attack which emanated from the northern shores of the Black Sea (Euxine) and well beyond the Danubian frontier. He says that 'the Scythian tribes':

> [...] burst through the barrier of the Bosporus and the Propontis [...] and inflicted bitter defeats on land and sea but that they lost the greater part of their forces and had to withdraw. The emperor Decius and his son were killed fighting these tribes. The cities of Pamphylia were besieged, many islands were pillaged, and the whole of Macedonia engulfed. For a long time the enemy besieged Thessalonica and Cyzicus. (Amm., 31.5.15)

It is evident that Gothic war bands were active around the Hellespont and that these infiltrated the Aegean, attacking Ionia in the process.[30] In fact, there may well have been two or more of these attacks, which in Ammianus' later discussion are summarized or conflated. It is known that the temple of Artemis at Ephesus which lay outside the city's walls was ransacked and perhaps forever afterwards dilapidated,[31] and at some stage, perhaps quite closely associated with these events, Miletus, Didyma and even Sardis were attacked, although they appear to have received less damage.[32] Still, with such disaster occurring all around, Pergamum even with its formidable acropolis did not escape, and seems also to have felt the effects especially to the local economy caused by the severe dislocation of trade in the region. It has been argued that the city not only received the unwelcome attentions of the Goths but that the impact of this invasion was little short of a calamity. Foss suggested that the city must have either been attacked or took the precautions to rebuild fortifications, but only those to the city of the Attalids, which meant abandoning much of the Roman city including

the shrines to Aesculapius and Serapis, both of which are situated on the plain.[33] Such drastic measures reveal a wider crisis than the literary sources recount. Orosius (7.22.7), for instance, mentions that the entire region was destroyed by the torrent of the Goths but fails to supply essential details.[34] So while Pergamum, like other cities in Asia, may have recovered, it was to be on a lower civic level than before. Yet archaeological evidence from nearby Sardis indicates a flourishing community down to the early seventh century and the invasion of Asia Minor by the Arabs.[35] Some cities were plainly in the possession of resources to enable them to recover more successfully than others.

In the meantime, the unabated threat from the Parthians caused Valerian, emperor since 253, to proceed to the east following in the recent footsteps of Caracalla, Severus Alexander, Gordian III and Philip, none of whom had had any particular success in this quarter.[36] The Romans advanced to Edessa but, there enticed to a parley, Valerian was taken prisoner and remained a captive until his death.[37] The emperor's capture – either following a defeat or causing a rout to begin – resulted in the collapse of the entire eastern frontier. Shapur ordered his forces to make a general advance, taking Antioch, not for the first time, but now also cities in Cilicia, including Tarsus.[38] Cappadocia and Lycaonia were also raided and the whole of Asia must have been on the alert of imminent attack and possible destruction. Luckily for the Roman Empire, order in the Parthian army seems to have broken down and a counter-attack organized by Valerian's officers with the remaining forces in the east and through the efforts of local princes such as Odenathus of Palmyra retrieved the situation. The Parthians withdrew and the threat dissipated. For those living in the eastern provinces including Asia, the world must have seemed to have been teetering on the edge of an abyss. The ambitions of Odenathus' widow, Zenobia, who was able to assert the independence of Palmyra and control Syria and send raiding parties into Galatia, even to the gates of Ancyra, must have appeared truly frightening. Yet the apocalypse was not to be, at least not then, and finally the emperor Aurelian, between 271 and the following year, brought the whole of the East back under the central control of Rome. However, once again armies crossed Asia Minor, where their presence was nearly as disastrous as an occupying external power, or piratical Goths who attacked the western shores of Asia again in 275, who were suppressed by the emperors Tacitus and Probus, while the emperor Carus in 282/3 restored order to the frontier with Parthia.

In all this apparent chaos, the ordinary life of the cities in and around Asia continued, with games in honour of Aesculapius at Pergamum

evidently unaffected, and renovations of fortifications at Nicaea, while a mint established at Cyzicus contributed to its prosperity.[39] Although the citizens of the communities of Asia chose to advertise an unchanged attitude to events happening around them and over which they had no control, it is noticeable the extent to which mention of repairs to or construction of new defensive walls has crept into modern accounts of the period and that the epigraphic and archaeological evidence should highlight this concern, itself an indicator of a changing world.[40]

Diocletianus (244–311), formerly Diocles, was himself a native of Illyria who chose not to have a residence in the eternal city, but when he divided his rule with Maximian in 286 and shared further the responsibilities of government with Constantius Chlorus and Galerius after 293 he increasingly looked to the East as his sphere of influence and interest. Maximian might choose to make his base at Milan, Constantius at Trier, Gallerius at Antioch, but Diocletian chose Nicomedia, one of the cities of the former kingdom of Bithynia. And it was from Nicomedia to Split in Illyria, his *patria*, that Diocletian departed when he retired from this tetrarchic rule in November 305 and where he died about six years later.[41] The tetrarchy did not long survive the immense vacuum left by its dynamic creator,[42] and the diadochi – Constantine, Maxentius, Severus, Maximinus, Licinius – quickly fell out among themselves in a violent competition for supremacy.[43] From that power struggle Constantine emerged as the sole ruler, having been proclaimed Augustus by his father's troops at York, in similar circumstances to Caracalla in 211, on the death of Constantius Chlorus in 306, and after he had established himself as ruler of much of the West when he defeated and killed Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge just north of Rome in 312, and of the entire empire with the defeat of Licinius at Chalcedon in late 324.[44]

The Roman Empire was therefore reunited into one realm; however, in fact, from this time the institutions which had been so peculiarly a blend of the Roman/Italian and Hellenic/Hellenistic began to change irrevocably. Not least among these was the breakup of the, in many cases, 400-year-old provincial administrations into smaller units, ostensibly for great efficiency, although it also promoted the emergence of even more complex bureaucratic machinery. Under Diocletian's direction the forty or so existing provinces were divided according to a combination of ethnic lines and the justice court circuits into about double that number,[45] and this, naturally enough, affected the province of Asia. The geographical extent of the province made its division relatively straightforward, since the new administrative entities were based on pre-existing political or ethnic structures. Accordingly, it appears that Asia was split into: Asia, the

rump of the former kingdom, comprising the lower sector of the Caicus Valley and the Mysian and Ionian coast as far south as Ephesus, including both Pergamum and Smyrna; the old Persian satrapy of Caria, including Halicarnassus; Lydia re-emerged as an identifiable district with its chief cities Sardis and Magnesia ad Sipylum; Phrygia also recalled its Persian past but now with the former Seleucid city of Apamea as its capital; Lycia-Pamphilia and Pisidia were also designated new provinces.[46] Asia Minor now became one of five dioceses which made up the prefecture entitled 'Oriens' or the 'East'.[47] The Praetorian Prefect was now the most senior administrative officer, an appointee of the emperor, while *vicarii*, responsible both to him and to the emperor, governed the dioceses. The smaller provinces were governed by officials usually entitled *praeses* – not by then, nor indeed for a long time past, senatorial representatives, but civil servants of equestrian status with civil, not military, jurisdiction. However, that being said, the specific changes to the administrative organization of the region is not readily supported by the evidence from inscriptions which appear to indicate that proconsuls of Asia – whatever their rank – are attested in the fourth century and that subdivisions within Asia seem to have often been ad hoc arrangements dependent largely on external factors such as nearby military campaigns, threats from possible attack and certainly the whims of rulers who rarely seem to have been committed to the changes that are claimed for them. Thus Diocletian may have envisaged some reorganization of unwieldy provinces but did not tamper too much with existing arrangements, while Constantine may have gone a few steps further but, especially with his desire to appear a second Augustus, did not dismantle entirely the centuries-old establishments.[48] The history of provincial organization or evolution is clearly a complex one which still needs considerable attention.

Less problematic is the activity of the emperors in the later period of the Roman Empire. Diocletian saw to the rejuvenation of the cities such as Ephesus, which had been badly hit by the Gothic incursions, and there is evidence of rebuilding dated to the time of his rule.[49] This is perhaps unsurprising, seeing that the emperor was close at hand in Bithynia, but there was widespread restoration in the cities of the empire, particularly notable in Rome itself.[50]

Constantine's claim to greatness lies, of course, in his advancement of Christianity from persecuted cult under his immediate predecessors to favoured religion in the empire by the time of his death in 337. The *New Testament* is, meanwhile, obvious testimony to the activities of the earliest Christian proselytisers in Asia and the receptive nature of the population

to new cults. Already under Trajan Orosius (7.12) mentions persecution of Christians at Myrina, Elaia, Pitane and Cyme, all towns in Asia and long-time satellites of Pergamum, and further concerns about this cult voiced by Hadrian to the proconsul of Asia, Minucius Fundanus (7.13). By the mid-second century AD, Polycarp, a bishop of Smyrna, became one of the earliest Christian martyrs, and thus the region's place in the history of Christianity was assured. Like Diocletian, Constantine was drawn to the East, perhaps even drawn by a cult he found intriguing, far away from the predominantly pagan West, but it is as well to remember that he had lived much of his early life at Nicomedia, where religious heterogeneity was a dominating feature of social and civic life. The lack of toleration took centre stage only from 303 until 308 when Galerius, then Augustus in the East, rescinded the anti-Christian measures. Following quickly on this admission that, in the East anyway, Christians were actually too powerful a religious body to be completely suppressed was the Milan agreement in 313 between Constantine and Licinius, sometimes called an Edict, which promised universal religious toleration. Thereafter, with approval of the emperor, the increasing status of Christianity was assured.

What were the conditions in Asia under Constantine and his immediate successors? The imperial presence in Constantinople was both a help and an impediment to prosperity since, while a nearby emperor was an additional insurance for security, it could also be a drain on finances. Constantine's active participation in the affairs of the new dominant church in synods such as that at Nicaea in 325 meant that the emperor's entourage and bureaucracy also moved with him and had to be accommodated. Such arrivals will have caused mixed feelings: on the one hand, the blessing of imperial largesse; on the other, the huge demands made on local resources. Towards the end of Constantine's reign, relations with Parthia deteriorated and from the rule of his son, Constantius II, warfare in the East became a monotonous regularity and cannot have aided the economic situation in Asia. Shapur II attacked the eastern provinces in 359, drawing the Roman emperor himself to take charge of the situation and at the same time ordering the transfer of troops from the western sector of the empire to the frontiers.[51] These assuredly marched across Asia exacting the usual requisitions and probably more besides.[52] Requisitioning supplies might be met with promissory notes but, by and large, these may not have been forthcoming and so a city's upkeep of other essential items such as roads and harbours will have been affected. In rural areas domestic buildings, orchards, vineyards and livestock could all easily have suffered as much damage as from pillaging invaders. Constantius must have assembled

a substantial army,[53] but before he could achieve any noteworthy results he was recalled to the West, alarmed by an apparent coup by his cousin and junior co-ruler, Julian. On the way to deal with insurrection he died and, almost by default, an emperor with philosophical inclinations, the first since Marcus Aurelius two centuries before, took the reins of power.[54]

Julian spent his first winter as sole emperor in Constantinople, arriving there on December 11th (Amm., 22.2), but this was a brief halt, for his objective was to continue the war against Parthia. So Julian, too, crossed from Europe in his attempt to match the heroic prowess of Alexander the Great. Unlike Alexander, Julian was no stranger to Asia, and although born in Constantinople in 330, he had lived in some obscurity in Cappadocia between about 342 and 348. Thereafter he spent time in Nicomedia, a city he must have known well, and from there was drawn to visit Pergamum. He had already received a particularly rich education, in part because of the seclusion forced upon him by the suspicious Constantius.[55] Unlike his elder brother Gallus, Julian was inclined to scholastic pursuits, but why should a smaller, almost insignificant Pergamum, in comparison with Constantinople or Nicomedia, beckon to this high-born aristocrat? It was certainly a place of far less consequence; however, its contraction in size did not lessen its appeal as a place of education. Indeed, in the fourth century its reputation was sufficient to attract Julian here rather than to one of the greater cities of the time such as Ephesus or Alexandria or to the more romantic spots such as the Academy in Athens. The star philosopher and teacher resident at Pergamum for several years by then was the Neoplatonist Aedesius, a highly respected and influential figure whose followers, especially Eusebius of Myndos, Maximus of Ephesus and Chrsyanthius of Sardis, as their ethnicities suggest, were to carry his teachings and wisdom beyond the Caicus Valley. Part of the attraction of studying with the, by then, elderly Aedesius was perhaps the fact that through his own teacher, Iamblichus, there was a connection with the philosopher Plotinus and hence a connection back to the period of the Second Sophistic movement and the rule of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, whom Julian clearly held in great respect and reverence. It was therefore the teacher rather than the place which brought Julian to Pergamum;[56] indeed, when Aedisius suggested that he should study with one of his own students, Julian hardly needed prompting to follow Maximus to Ephesus. Eunapius, who had also studied with Aedesius, in his *Life of the Sophists* gives considerable detail to the event:

> Maximus was one of those who had been saturated with the wisdom of Aedesius; moreover he received the honour of being the teacher of the

> emperor Julian. [Julian] came to Pergamon, following on the report of the wisdom of Aedesius. But the latter was by this time far on in years, and his bodily strength was failing. First and foremost of all his students was Maximus [...] Chrysanthius of Sardis, Priscus [...] and Eusebius who came from Myndos. On being allowed to study under Aedesius, Julian who was old for his boyish years, in amazement and admiration of his vigour and the divine qualities of his soul refused to leave him. [Julian] started for Ephesus. There he had converse with Maximus, and hung on to him and stuck firmly to all he had to teach. (Eunapius, *Life of the Sophists*, 473–6)

In fact Maximus maintained his contacts with Julian and became his close confidant when the latter achieved sole power.[57] Yet again, it is remarkable how Pergamum provides a link here because it had become this beacon of education, perhaps not exactly of enlightened study, in the Later Roman Empire. The memory of the visit to the city by the young Julian may later have prompted his accession as sole emperor to be celebrated on an inscription erected by a proconsul, Aelius Claudius Dulcitius, in about 361, perhaps in anticipation (never fulfilled) of a return.[58]

On his way to the eastern frontier it would at least seem likely that Julian – although from the evidence of his own writings definitely not a fan of Caracalla (*Caes.*, 312D, 316C) – would have wished to follow in Alexander's footsteps, but that was not the case at all. Perhaps the other notorious activities of Caracalla put Julian off any inclination to visit Ilium or other cities or shrines in the Troad, Ionia and elsewhere in Asia. [59] Even though an open devotee of sacrifice, Julian not only appears to have avoided the main oracular centres but also sped through Asia Minor in a matter of eight weeks, pausing only to visit Nicomedia where he had spent some of his childhood and to which city he granted funds to alleviate the stress caused here by a recent earthquake. He may have paused briefly at Nicaea, although Ammianus is not specific (22.9), and then went on by the direct route from Bithynia into Galatia to Pessinus, where the emperor sacrificed to Magna Mater. From there he went, or went back, to Ancyra where he involved himself in the local politics for a short time, although Ammianus pointedly notes that this role was not that successful since Julian had an autocratic edge to his personality and, unlike Alexander, did not know how to curry favour with the masses.[60] The citizens, however, erected a column in honour of his visit, yet this was a far cry indeed from the lavish outpourings which served as a remembrance of a ruler such as Caracalla, but points also to the new philosopher-ruler's cultivated parsimony.[61] It is curious that

Julian made no attempt to return to Pergamum or Ephesus, but the latter was by now a bastion of Christianity and unlikely to welcome the attention of an unashamedly pagan emperor. Whatever the rationale behind Julian's planned itinerary in the East, he rushed on to Antioch, where he spent most of his rest of 362, before launching his invasion of Mesopotamia in the spring of 363.[62] His untimely death at Maranga, near Ctesiphon in June 363 robbed the cities of Asia of the chance of celebrating his life and character, although, given his reputation for withholding largesse, there may well have been little to gain from his presence, as the Antiochenes themselves had discovered. Julian was ultimately buried at Tarsus, a city which had played absolutely no part in his life, adding yet another mystery to the quixotic nature of this short-lived ruler.[63]

Yet Julian's paganism was neither an isolated nor a personal idiosyncrasy for, nearly two hundred years after his death, John of Ephesus was given the task of converting pagans in western Asia Minor by the emperor Justinian.[64] The destruction of the altar to Zeus on the acropolis at Pergamum, although by then undoubtedly derelict yet still symbolic of the past, is considered to have occurred at this time. A church was built on the cleared area, as were many others in former temples' precincts or within old standing temples. Another connection with the ancient past was severed when the city was first occupied, although only for a short time, by the Arabs as early as 716. The impregnable *Pergamos* was no longer a haven of safety from invaders who entered the Caicus Valley. Pergamum may have diminished in size and stature, yet in the *de Thematibus* of the emperor Constantine IX Porphyrogenitus (913–959) the city is still listed among the twenty or twenty-one most important urban centres of Asia.[65] The list seems to be in no particular order other than possibly how it was remembered by the author or his secretary, but it is perhaps worth noting that at the head of the list is Ephesus, followed by Smyrna, while Pergamum appears not only after Sardis and Miletus, but also Priene, Colophon and Thyateira.[66] There may be nothing in this, but there is a distinct inclination to view this list as symptomatic of times that had changed since the days of the Attalids. Quite clearly Pergamum did not spring to the mind of the compiler as the premier city of this region. However, for all the administrative changes that had affected Asia since the crises of the third century, the former kingdom still possessed – or appeared to possess – a cohesive whole. In the minds of those who still thought about such matters, Asia still represented a noble past and a connection with a glorious heritage. The Byzantines may have considered themselves to be the true heirs of Rome, but they were in fact more closely linked to the earliest history of the Greeks and, arguably, the

start of western culture. Pergamum and its neighbouring cities throughout Asia Minor provided that portal into the civilization which we now call Hellenistic and which was the foundation of western civilisation.

In the mid-thirteenth century Theodore Ducas Lascaris, who was to reign briefly as the emperor Theodore II (1254–1258) of what, by then, had become the rump of the Byzantine Empire since, following the sack of Constantinople in 1204 by the members of the Fourth Crusade led by Venice, it had relocated to Nicaea, travelled across these somewhat reduced domains and passed by Pergamum. He recorded this visit in a letter which has survived. Although the letter itself gives little precise indication of the physical state of the city at this time, what was there clearly left a great impression on the visitor. And from the comments of the soon-to-be emperor it certainly appears that impressive remains still stood, especially on and around the acropolis.[67] Thus Foss argues that even in this vast passage of time and the vicissitudes of Persian, Arab, Turkish, and Crusader invasions of Asia under the Lascarid dynasty, Pergamum still possessed an urban community of palpable wealth and resources, and that its diminished status belongs only to much later in the modern era. Lascaris refers with some admiration to the theatre of Philetairos on the acropolis which, according to the writer, rose to the heavens, opining that its associated structures were constructed by superhuman beings. What these structures were actually used for in his day he does not, however, tell, but an admiration for the distant past is clearly evident in his words. Within a short time of this visit, like most cities of Asia Minor, Pergamum was finally lost to the Byzantine Empire, at which point its connectivity with antiquity of longue durée was lost. However, that connection has never been forgotten or obscured. Indeed, as an active participant Pergamum may have faded from the world stage, yet its rich bequest to humanity, and indeed to the Humanities – not least to the discipline of Ancient History – can hardly have been greater.[68]

Chronology

194	Defeat and death of Pescennius Niger at Issus
198	Severus captured Ctesiphon
211	Caracalla and Geta emperors
212	Caracalla sole emperor
214–215	Caracalla at Pergamum
217	Murder of Caracalla near Carrhae. Races in the hippodrome at Pergamum

218	Acclamation of Elagabalus at Antioch and defeat and murder of Macrinus in Cappadocia
260	Parthians raid Asia Minor
260s	Pergamum, Ephesus, Miletus, Didyma and Sardis all attacked by marauding Goths
273–275	Aurelian restored order in the East
284	Diocletian emperor
305	Retirement of Diocletian to Split
306	Constantine proclaimed emperor at York (Eburacum)
312	Battle of the Milvian Bridge and Edict of Milan
324	Defeat of Licinius and Constantine sole ruler of the Roman Empire
325	Great Synod at Nicaea. Execution of Licinius
348–350	Julian in Pergamum at the school of Aedesius
361	Julian's accession celebrated on an inscription at Pergamum
362	Julian in Pessinus and Ancyra
363	Death of Julian (June 22nd) at Maranga
431	Ecclesiastical council at Ephesus
449	Council of churches at Ephesus
542	John of Ephesus in Pergamum
716	Pergamum captured by the Arabs
1250	Pergamum visited by Theodore Lascaris
1325	Turkish control of Pergamum began

Figure 1 The 'Red Hall' (Temple of Serapis) Pergamum (Author's photograph)

Figure 2 View of Bergama from the Acropolis and Altar of Zeus in foreground (Author's photograph)

Figure 3 Temple of Dionysus and Caracalla (Author's photograph)

Figure 4 Temple of Zeus and Trajan (Author's photograph)

Figure 5 View of Acropolis from the Aesculapion (Author's photograph)

Figure 6 Altar to Zeus at Pergamum (Author's photograph)

Figure 7 Detail from the Temple of Dionysus and Caracalla at Pergamum (Author's Photograph)

Figure 8 The Theatre at Pergamum (Author's photograph)

Chapter 6

Images of a City

> Let us suppose that the city of Sparta was deserted and the shrines and foundations of the buildings alone remained. I think that generations to come would find it very difficult to believe that it had been as powerful as it was made out to be. (Thucydides, 1.10)

In this chapter, the focus of discussion will be on the various images of Pergamum which have influenced modern opinion of the city and its history. These images emerge from its geographical location, its urban and rural topography, and its people, and are transmitted through the media of its buildings in and around the city and through the broader region which was the Hellenistic kingdom's Roman successor, and furthermore through the written portraits of its rulers and prominent citizens and visitors, and from visual and architectural allusions found on the coinage.[1] To the modern visitor, often with severe limitations of time to consider, a cursory glance around the modern city of Bergama, both on and below the acropolis, reveals for the most part Roman and later remains. The city appears strikingly and tangibly Roman, yet there is here a Greek conception and aspect which indicates an amalgam of cultural diversity that may fairly be described as Hellenistic. Together this cultural blend adds a distinctive prominence to its notable history. This is the area with which I begin and thereafter there are notes on the personages themselves and the very distinctive coinage of Pergamum.

The Geographical Context of Pergamum

The geographical context and the overall rural landscape of any state can be of vital significance to understanding the mindset of its people and especially its rulers. Geography governs the urban and peri-urban arrangement, defence and indeed growth – in other words, the imperialist

ambitions of a community, if of course it possesses any. Most states in antiquity or at any time, given the opportunity, will aspire to such expansion in territory. Pergamum was no exception. Study of the geography of modern states is a reasonably straightforward process, made so by modern mapping methods and advanced technological aids such as satellites. In antiquity, the study of the landscape is more of a problem and details may be difficult, but not impossible, to obtain. It is arguably not feasible to study the history of any state without first appreciating its position in the landscape. It is, moreover, a part of the image of the community and how it might wish this to be projected. Issues of coinage, for example, (see more below) often utilize natural elements as emblematic of the community they represent.[2] The landscape is therefore a fundamental and permanent element in the makeup of a state in the Ancient World. These general points are certainly as applicable to Pergamum as they are to other *poleis* in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds.

The name Caicus is an unusual one in that it has an elemental connection, being derived from the name for the north-east wind (ὁ Καικίας), and is itself an indication that the geographical alignment of the river and its valley and its regional context were recognized and understood in antiquity. The land through which the river and its numerous tributaries have cut their way was occupied from early times, although human habitation tended to be on the hills at the edge of the flood plain, since here any settlement was afforded safety and security and ready access to water supplies and land for cultivation.[3] It is notable that the later urban development in the Caicus Valley avoided close proximity to the river, suggesting a prevailing problem of flooding and its attendant insecurity. But the destructive element of the river paradoxically also brought manifold attractions. Indeed, Strabo (13.4.2) comments that the river crosses a very rich land which had the best soil in Mysia.[4] The Caicus itself, of course, was responsible for this fertility, bringing down silt from the mountains of the interior. This is a common feature along the western seaboard of Asia Minor, where there are numerous rivers running basically east to west from the high mountainous interior to the coastal plain over a comparative short distance, carrying sediment easily enough where the gradient is steep but then depositing this material across the narrow coastal belt where the decline suddenly flattens out. Since the site of Pergamum today lies about twenty-six kilometres (rather more than sixteen miles) inland, it was not faced with the sorts of problem which beset those cities with harbours such as Ephesus and Miletus at the mouths of the Cayster and Meander rivers respectively. The other major river draining this part

of western Asia Minor was the Hermus, which linked Sardis to the sea via Magnesia ad Sipylum with Phocaea at its mouth (Strabo, 13.4.5, 14.1.2).[5] However, the course of the Hermus river has undergone drastic changes since antiquity and now, as the Gediz, empties into the sea in the western suburbs of Smyrna (Izmir), a considerable distance to the south of its original course. The Scamander river flowing north-west from Mt Ida drained much of the Troad, but also brought the problem of silting to the area, to such an extent that Ilium and the later city of Alexandria Troas both now lie about five kilometres from the sea. Moreover, Pergamum's own harbour at Elaia has since disappeared under the waterborne deposits of the Caicus,[6] while Ephesus is now several kilometres inland, and both Miletus and Priene are stranded well inside the Latmian Gulf rather than being on its outer rim. Yet such are the vagaries of local geological composition and the highly localized rise and fall of the sea level that elsewhere the coastline of Asia Minor has not altered at all since antiquity. For example, in the northern Hellespont, ancient Abydos and Lampsacus were less affected by silting than their neighbours further south and, especially at the southern end of Troad with its steep cliffs, including the sites of Assos and Adramyttium, remain very much as they were. Furthermore, south of Miletus the geology alters again and the Carian coastline, including that at Halicarnassus, is still much as it was in the Ancient World.

Going inland up the Caicus Valley, Strabo mentions the city of Apollonia (13.4.4) which lay on the northern side of the valley and again occupies a hill site. From there the altitude rises almost imperceptibly and the headwaters of the river are not obviously among mountainous territory, but rather among high plains reminiscent of the interior of Sicily, but with a harsher climate. Indeed, Thyateira at the headwaters of the Phrygius was easily accessible from the upper Caicus Valley, as Strabo states, the city being situated to the left of the road which allowed communications both into the Hermus Valley and Sardis and into the Lycus Valley and old Phrygia (cf. Pliny, *NH*, 5.115). Thyateira is described as having begun as a colony for mercenaries and settled by the Pergamene kings, as must have been nearby Apollonis, founded by Attalus II and named after his wife.

> On the right of the road is the city of Apollonis which is three hundred stades [35 miles] from Pergamum and the same distance from Sardis. (Strabo, 13.4.4)

Thus Pergamum, when it emerged as a community in the fourth century BC, was hardly isolated from the outside world, either from the Aegean or

the central inland regions of Asia Minor. Movement from the coast via the Caicus was relatively straightforward, which meant that the trade routes would not ignore this site, nor once it had become a major factor in the valley was its ability for defence or offence compromised by the landscape because the rulers of the city clearly exploited its geographical location.

Although Xenophon appears to have stayed only for a brief time in Pergamum, his account shows (*Anab.*, 7.8.7–24) that the extent of each ruler's territory was most likely on a smaller scale than even the smallest Greek *polis*. Of course, some regions of mainland Greece such as Phocis and Locris did not conform to the more celebrated *polis* structures found in Attica and the Peloponnese or further afield in *Magna Graecia* and Sicily. They still considered themselves ethnically Hellenen, however. In the Caicus Valley the ethnic makeup was clearly so much more complex than across the Aegean, since there were Greeks, Persians, Lydians and many others living in close proximity with one another. This was a fractured community, perhaps more in common with those found in Sicily and Magna Graecia, and like them one which was volatile and restive. There were probably many groups of people coming and going and with greater frequency than in the more settled parts of Greece and along the Ionian coast of this period. It may have been only the briefest of encounters, but Xenophon nonetheless gives vital details about the sort of environment which would have been as familiar to a Homeric audience as it was to one in the Classical period, and indeed which may have appeared rather exotic to the latter. If he is telling the truth and giving an accurate account of what he experienced in the Caicus Valley, he indicates that, unlike in *polis* communities where laws and religious beliefs, however rudimentary, governed behaviour and actions between citizens and their neighbours, here the most important factor was domination through physical actions. Force was the key to success, and laws simply did not function in this region overmuch at the end of the fifth century. By the second century BC, however, the kingdom of Pergamum had become a paragon of Hellenism, in the sense that the evidence, mostly epigraphic, indicates a profound attachment to legal processes and an overwhelming desire by the community and its chief individuals to display this civilizing attitude. Much had changed in the Caicus Valley, for with prolonged peaceful conditions came urbanization on quite a grand scale and with it the cities – among them not least, of course, the subject of this volume.

The entrance today into the Caicus Valley from either the north or south is quite distinctive, with the original coastline easy to determine from what is now a line of low hills which, proceeding inland, recede and open up

into a much broad expanse. The valley sides are several kilometres apart but the hill which is the acropolis of Pergamum is noticeable even from this distance, on the left-hand side of the valley – that is to say, on the north. The hill which contains the acropolis is really a spur of rock of harder substance than that around it, which has not been eroded and so juts out facing south from the plateau that lies on this side of the valley. Linked to the plateau by a lower ridge, the spur then rises up in spectacular fashion to rather more than three hundred and fifty metres (a thousand feet) above sea level and abuts the flood plain – which here is about sixty-eight metres above sea level (two hundred feet) – although it is actually about three kilometres from the Caicus itself.[7] The spur has on its western side the Selinous river, while its neighbouring stream, the Citius flows down from the highlands on the eastern edge. These converge a little to the south of the Roman city before subsequently joining the Caicus in the middle of the plain. Therefore, the 'Pergamus' stands as an isolated point not easily accessible from either the plain or the nearby highlands and makes the spot almost impregnable. Indeed, its attractions obviously account for evidence of habitation here, the first in the immediate area. However, the presence of tumuli or burial mounds on the plain on the outskirts of the modern town of Bergama at perhaps a distance of five to six kilometres (three to four miles) from the acropolis testify to the occupation or possession of land which went beyond the hilly areas. Such tombs may belong to the time of multi-ethnic communities living in close conjunction with one another in the fifth century BC and earlier. Yet the practice of interment in tumuli was quite in keeping with a Macedonian community which is likely to have been settled here in the period from Alexander's conquest of Asia Minor and during the period of his successors. It has also been suggested that these tombs appear to have been 'reoccupied' in the Roman period.[8] But it was not the plain that achieved fame, rather it was the acropolis around which the inhabitants of the city clustered. Unlike the 'Pergamus' of Ilium, which is quite a low hill set among an undulating plain close to the sea (Homer, *Il.*, 5.446),[9] the Pergamus of Pergamum is a truly dominating physical feature, remaining the focal point of attention and drawing the eye as it still does today.[10]

The Urban Topography of Pergamum

The urban topography of a state or its visible remains provide some of the clearest and – where they are still accessible – most obvious indicators

of measuring the importance of the public image, or how the state or community wanted to be viewed by both insiders and foreigners. These images, in turn, can lead back to the aspirations and accomplishments of the rulers and, in their absence, private individuals in the community. What is immediately apparent is that Pergamum has no single important temple on the scale of the neighbouring temples of Artemis at Ephesus and Magnesia ad Meandrum or that of Apollo of Miletus at Didyma. Nonetheless, the possession of a striking cult centre was not a universal fixture of either Hellenistic or later Roman cities, although it is a little surprising that the Attalids were not more assiduous in pursuing such a goal if they wished to see their city as distinctive from others in the region. Comparing Pergamum with Athens, with which it is often compared, therefore places the former at an immediate disadvantage in terms of temple foundations. Athens, of course, not only possessed the great Parthenon but also a very visible Hephaistion adjacent to its agora.[11] Pergamum is distinctly lacking in this aspect of public image or even civic ambition. However, it is better perhaps to compare Pergamum with Syracuse, the chief city of Sicily, which possessed major cult centres certainly grander than those found in the former but not as spectacular as, for example, the temple complexes at Akragas and Selinous.[12] It is certainly a puzzle. Syracuse eventually possessed rather more cult centres of importance than its neighbours, but clearly some financial constraint or common sense dissuaded the Syracusans from embarking on a building project which might bring fame but also alarming debts. The Attalids may therefore have been rather more modest in their ambitions and less extravagant and hence paragons of fiscal probity, which is to be seen elsewhere in their building programme as well. It is quite possible that, given the temporal connection between the Attalids and the kingship of Hieron II in Syracuse, recognition and implementation of the Sicilian monarch's financial competence was adopted. Common sense and tight control of the treasury is certainly indicated in a number of successful states at this time. Thus, besides temples on a very modest scale, the other constructions of this Hellenistic kingship are equally homely rather than overly impressive. Some of this has to do with the available space, but even in the Roman city which was later to have all the amenities of a large urban community, the largest and most remarkable building is the third-century complex consisting of baths and a shrine to a number of Egyptian deities, including Isis and Serapis (see below), which followed a three hundred year interval from the incorporation of Pergamum into the Roman Empire. Thus Attalid financial constraint, which was either imposed by a general lack of revenues or by a desire not to overly burden the kingdom,

was clearly followed by a communal commitment to sound finances which may also have been imposed by the city's new lesser significance in the province of Asia.

There is, of course, no such thing as an ideal or a quintessential acropolis; and each city had its own unique citadel, whether it was (such as at Athens) almost dovetailing into the surrounding urban area from above, or more remote (such as the Acrocorinth), part of the city of which it was a citadel, yet impregnable because of its remote aspect (such as at Sardis), or indeed being at the lowest point of the city (as in Syracuse on the island of Ortygia). At Pergamum there is both commanding height and apparent isolation, but on closer inspection it is readily apparent that while on the west at the side of the theatre there is a precipitous drop to the valley of the Selinous, and likewise on the east from the palace sector down to the river Citius, in between the spur has a steep but gradual and manageable decline into what is now the modern city built on top of much of its Roman equivalent. On this terraced incline from the plain the ancient settlement merged into the acropolis at the higher level of the hill. There is no marked division between the citadel and the city on this side except for fortifications which delineate the lower acropolis as a place of temples and shrines, and the inner acropolis as the area of the palaces and storehouses of the ruling family. Wherever the Greeks founded urban settlements they created a space which was not only a physical refuge but also metaphysical or spiritual as well, since here was often the earliest temples and the shrines of the community.

The very summit of the heights soon became occupied by the palaces of the Attalids, which is now a jumble of ruins, commonly divided into a series of houses, none of which is on a really grand scale.[13] In itself, this 'place of palaces' is rather striking, since an acropolis was not usually a place of residence or of continuous habitation, and has rather more to do with the origin of the site than ideology.[14] This relatively small area comprises the earliest settlement at least down to the second half of the third century BC. Radt has suggested that the excavation of roughly hewn walls at the very summit suggests settled habitation from the seventh to sixth centuries BC, and a gate near the temple of Hera probably dates to the fifth and is perhaps more or less contemporary with Xenophon's visit there in 400.[15] Thereafter the acropolis remained a quite modest affair; even in the time of Philetairos and his immediate successors, Eumenes and Attalus I, little change was apparently even contemplated by the rulers of what became a smallish area of residence, worship and marketplace high up on the hill inside and beyond the defensive walls of what was, in effect, a rather

modest fortress.[16] The great expansion which had much to do with newly acquired status belongs initially therefore only to the second century under Eumenes II after the Treaty of Apamea in 189,[17] as a result of which the revenues of his kingdom increased many times, and then undergoes a period of rejuvenation during the middle Roman period, mainly as a result of imperial *beneficia*.

Later on, this palatial zone – if one can describe it in such grandiose terms – remained cordoned off from the lower acropolis by the existing defensive walls for the security of the rulers. Since there is very little space here, it is very unlikely that these buildings represent the sole dwelling place of the Pergamene kings, their families and entourage, who all must have possessed other residences in the city below and estates further afield.[18] It is simply too small, even for kings with modest ambitions and accomplishments; and such an observation does not suitably describe the psyche of the successors of Philetairos who, the literary sources at least suggest, were every bit as ambitious as their fellow kings and every bit as martial in their daily pursuits – except perhaps for the last official king. If the palace sector at Pergamum is compared with other Hellenistic cities, the limitations of this zone are easily apparent. It clearly consists of a number of fair-sized residences, probably not that much more imposing than say 'Building Z' (see below) situated in the lower part of the acropolis, or some of the well-endowed villas in Pompeii and Herculaneum, and was certainly never a palace on the scale the name later defined. For example, there is no interlinking complex of suites or wings and, in fact, the whole could be citizen homes except for its secluded and guarded location. The area directly to the north of the palace compound, and at a slightly lower level by about eleven metres (35 feet), contained barrack blocks for the ruler's household guards. It was a military zone but again on a very small scale, and could not possibly have accommodated the sort of numbers the tyrants and kings of Syracuse, for example, habitually housed on the island of Ortygia with their families.[19] This area, also called the Arsenal, contained munitions dumps and other supplies for the soldiers employed by the rulers, together with cisterns for the maintenance of a regular water supply.

Below the palaces – or perhaps better defined as homes – of the kings and their families and what became the site of the temple sanctuary of Zeus and Trajan,[20] in order of elevation, were the temple complex of Athena and the Museion or Library, about ten metres lower (approximately 30 feet) – unless this second building also partly occupied an edge of the upmost terrace (there is some uncertainty among current thought); lower again by a more noticeable decline at about twenty-seven metres (80 feet)

is situated the Altar to Zeus; and below that again by fifteen metres (45 feet) is an open space called the Upper Agora or Market. The acropolis is roughly pear-shaped at the summit, being about 266 metres (800 feet) wide at the levels of the palaces and temple of Athena, and 366 metres (1100 feet) across for the levels containing the Zeus Altar and Agora. In length, the distance from the Arsenal to the Upper Agora is a little more than 580 metres (1740 feet).

The temple to Zeus and Trajan (Figure 4), although a much later manifestation of religiosity and civic pride at Pergamum, deserves attention next, since it came to occupy an appropriately princely location immediately adjacent to the palaces of the former kings. Indeed, it is possible – seeing that no other construction appears to be attested here before the temple was originally founded and financed by the Trajanic senator C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus (cos. suff. 105) in a particularly remarkable show of euergetism and conspicuous consumption[21] – that this area had been the garden for the various royal residences comprising this quarter.[22]

> Attalus Philometor cultivated poisonous plants, not only henbane and hellebore, but also hemlock, aconite, and doryenium, himself planting and tending them in the palace. (Plut. *Dem.*, 20.2).

The space here is, however, rather limited and, as plans of the acropolis show, the line of the fortifications, dating from the rule of Philetairos, skirted the edge of the cliff; the temple was therefore constructed over this section of the walls once they had been demolished – there was no need for fortifications in this period of unprecedented peace in any case. Indeed, the temple precinct was then partly extended out over the open space below on an artificial pediment created by the construction of vaults.[23] And so it was only in the second century AD that Zeus was provided with a temple of his own on the acropolis in a suitably grand setting. An earlier construction on the same level as the Upper Agora (see below) has been identified as a shrine to Zeus and dated to the reign of Attalus I.[24] It was clearly a structure of really quite modest proportions compared with its successor higher up the hill. This later temple in appearance is peripteral but is not in the Classical style and, more nearly a square than a rectangle in its floor plan, is really a neo-colonial building.[25] Its white marble Corinthian columns, partly reconstructed, continue to dominate, as they did in antiquity, the skyline of the summit, but only from the west which it, unusually, faces. The temple is not visible from any other angle. It faces too, perhaps purposely, the shrine of Aesculapius below on the plain

and towards the west. Its stylobate is 68 by 58 metres (204 x 174 feet) and is surrounded on three sides by an additional elegant portico with a richly decorated pediment. It was probably modelled on the temple at Rome on the Capitoline Hill to Jupiter Optimus et Maximus. The colonnade enclosing the temple was, however, added during the reign of Hadrian, who was another visitor to the city. The citizens of Pergamum responded to his interest in their affairs by adding his cult to the temple originally dedicated to his predecessor. Thus the cella within the temple contained statues to Zeus Philios, Trajan and Hadrian,[26] but the construction of the temple must originally have been approved by Trajan. It marked a new departure in that Pergamum now possessed two shrines, one to Augustus and a new one to Trajan, both of which were provincial rather than local cults. While the temple to Rome and Augustus is portrayed on Pergamene coinage, its whereabouts remains a mystery. Still, the possession of such important shrines fully illustrates that Pergamum still possessed the senior place among the *poleis* of Asia, even if it had long ceased to be the administrative capital of the region.

The precinct of Athena Polias on the next level of the acropolis clearly possessed a senior position in the religious hierarchy of the state on account of its role as patron deity, its age and commanding situation, right down to the time of the foundation of the temple of Zeus and Trajan in the second century AD.[27] The last was assuredly a calculated move to ensure future favours from the rulers of the Roman Empire. Whether the temple to Athena was begun during the fourth century or during the rule of Philetairos towards the middle of the third century (both dates have supporters), it still comes late in the history of temple construction in a Greek *polis*.[28] This underlines the emergence of regular civic structures probably only from the rule of Philetairos and developed by that of his successor, Eumenes. Although the temple is a peripteral hexastyle building following the designs and proportions employed during the Classical period, with six Doric columns at either end and ten along its length, its modest proportions of just 12.72 by 21.77 metres (42 x 71 feet) make it barely more than a shrine and not at all impressive when measured against temples to the same deity all around the Mediterranean. For example, the Athenaion at Syracuse, also peripteral hexastyle, was 24 by 60 metres (72 x 181 feet) and the 'unfinished' temple at Segesta, probably also an Athena temple, has dimensions of 23 x 58 metres (70 x 174 feet). Moreover, the temple of Athena should more precisely be described as a shrine to Zeus and Athena, since the existence of a division in the cella illustrates a dual cult.[29] Unusually, the temple's axis is just slightly easterly from

north to south, probably with an access at each end to the cult chambers so that neither deity could be seen to have been disadvantaged in its treatment. A modest building indicates a modest treasury, which suggests that Philetairos and his immediate successor, at least, were rather short of funds. The bullion maintained in the fortress had either dissipated or been removed elsewhere by the Seleucids, perhaps to Sardis. Another indicator of paucity of funds is the fact that within the enclosure or temenos of this rather slight temple were also collected the trophies or tropaea of victories of the rulers, especially that of Attalus I over the Gallic tribes of the interior of Asia Minor.[30]

Along the northern side of the precinct of Athena, but on the highest level of the acropolis, is a building which has been identified as the Museion, a cult centre, but which was more famously a repository of manuscripts and hence a bibliothecē or library. This Library of Pergamum was founded by Eumenes II sometime after 189 (Pliny, *NH*, 13.70), and so was another fairly late enterprise in the history of the kingdom made possible, no doubt, by a healthy surplus of funds following the kingdom's expansion with which to acquire, house and maintain a collection. Its existence is an indication of the philosophical inclinations of Eumenes, although he tends to be better remembered as a warrior.

> [...] when there was rivalry between king Ptolemy and Eumenes concerning their libraries and the former ordered that the export of paper be stopped, parchment was invented in Pergamum. (Pliny, *NH* 13.70)

Plutarch provides evidence for a collection amounting to 200,000 manuscripts towards the end of the first century, but the context in which it is given poses certain difficulties about its accuracy. Just before the campaign which culminated in the battle of Actium in 31 during the period of propaganda warfare between the protagonists Octavian and Antony, the latter was subjected to accusations *in absentia* by supporters of the former.

> Calvisius moreover who was a supporter of Caesar (Octavian) brought forward the following charges against Antony especially regarding his behaviour towards Cleopatra that he had given her the libraries of Pergamum which contained 200,000 volumes. Most of the charges brought by Clavisius were thought to be untrue. (Plut. *Ant.*, 58.5–59)

Thus Plutarch reports Calvisius' claim, rather than providing clear evidence of a particularly rich library in Pergamum. Still, its status cannot have been affected adversely by the transfer of power to the Romans after 133. The new province must have maintained the sources funding these libraries. However, as noted above, the library at Alexandria was destroyed in 47 during the siege of the city by Ptolemaic forces fighting Caesar and his protégé Cleopatra. Antony later married Cleopatra and, it is assumed, gave the Egyptian queen the collection from Pergamum to restock the library in her own city. Such looting of the Pergamene collections is likely to have caused irreversible damage and the city is not mentioned as possessing a great library in any other literary source. The reference to more than one institution probably also points to other collections, including that at the Aesculapion.[31] The area where the Museion stood is also of modest proportions. On reflection, it may be better to view the building on the acropolis as the personal library of a king and that as a treasure it was lost to Pergamum, never to be regained. The Museion later on may have housed other items and perhaps the library was to some extent reformed, but any collection here seems not to have interested later writers, and probably indicates that its holdings were not that exceptional after the Late Republic.

A cordoned-off cult area or temenos dedicated to the rulers of Pergamum lay alongside a temple dedicated to Hera on the level which also included the Altar to Zeus. The Heraion was also of a very modest size, but possibly of later date than its close neighbour to Athena, since it lies outside the earliest walls of the citadel. The temenos, on the other hand, was certainly a third-century construction, probably begun by Eumenes I but extended by the first Attalus. Eventually it became a temple complex some 6 by 40 metres (17 x 120 feet) in which the rulers from Philetairos were worshipped as deities in their own right.[32] Clearly an important structure, nevertheless it was also of slight dimensions when compared with other major temple complexes. Perhaps the most extraordinary fact of this cult centre is that Philetairos the eunuch was worshipped here, the first ruler of the Attalid dynasty but hardly its progenitor.

The Altar to Zeus (Figure 2) for which Pergamum has achieved considerable fame, perhaps even in antiquity, was constructed as an isolated sacrificial area and is some distance from where the temple of Zeus and Trajan was later constructed. It was also, due to constraints of space presumably, on the lower level than that occupied by the temple to Athena and Zeus. Still, some spatial connection between the latter and the altar was surely intended, since they are separated only by the levels on which they are located.[33] Such free-standing altars are not that common in urban

spaces in antiquity, so such an undertaking deserves some consideration here. The planners and builders of the Zeus altar at Pergamum were faced with an obvious shortage of prominent space on which to construct a place of sacrifice to the most senior deity. Some older buildings must therefore have been demolished to make room for this edifice,[34] which was started only after the Treaty of Apamea.[35] The dimensions of the altar at 35.6 by 33.4 metres (106 x 100 feet) are indeed far less impressive than that of the Altar at Syracuse, which perhaps provided the inspiration for its foundation, although its frieze has attracted much more attention because more substantial parts of it have survived. The Altar to Zeus Eleutherios in the Neapolis district of Syracuse also stood in splendid isolation, situated near neither the temple to Olympian Zeus constructed later by Hieron II about 250 BC in the city's agora nor the archaic temple to Zeus Uranios all the way out at Polichne. This altar had originally been consecrated by the Syracusans in 466 after the expulsion of the tyrant Thrasybulus and was completely renovated by Hieron in the mid-third century. It measures a stadion (606 feet/200 metres) in length and about 12 metres (36 feet) in width and rose on a five-stepped crepidoma to about 12 metres (36 feet) in height.[36] The altar at Pergamum, however, occupies a far more dramatic physical situation almost on the brink of an abyss, which inevitably captures the imagination both from above and, in the Ancient World, also from below, where it would have been visible from the hub of the Roman city and the shrine of Aesculapius a little further out to the west. Today the approach is uncluttered across low-level ruins and much open space; in antiquity, given the lack of room on the acropolis, the altar would have been more hemmed in on the hillside by other buildings. In effect, this was a temenos to Zeus and perhaps intended to correct the very obvious absence of any dedicated temple to the Olympian on the acropolis.

The temple of Dionysus and Caracalla (Figure 3) belongs to the early third century AD and so its manifestation as a shrine to two deities will have been a late arrival on the religious and cultic scene in the city. However, this building represents a reconstruction of an earlier edifice, since it is connected with the adjacent theatre, both of which were associated with Dionysus.[37] Mention is made on an inscription of the first century BC to Caesar's friend Mithridates, who is described as 'hereditary priest of Dionysus the Leader', which surely points to the presence of a cult and hence a temple to the deity from this time, and most likely from the construction of the theatre, which in its earliest manifestation belongs to the third century.[38] Today the rather dilapidated state of the temple which greets the visitor reveals the acute shortage of funds allocated to archaeological

sites at present (2011). Its position at the end of the theatre's terrace away from the mainstream route of tourist traffic probably accounts partly for this condition, although the acropolis as a whole is generally unkempt and starved of diligent upkeep. The shrine, like the temple of Athena, was not a major centre and barely more than a shrine, but its use in conjunction with the theatrical performances associated with the cult was no doubt continuous. The inclusion of Caracalla alongside a well-established deity clearly illustrates a continuing trend and habit (noted in Chapter 2) for the increasing use of the ruler cult to draw imperial favours to this and other provincial cities. It may even be that Caracalla passed this way at the start of his campaign against the Parthians (*HA*. Caracallus, 6) about 216/7, and that the emperor contributed to some building programme for which he duly received cult honours.[39] The temple itself consists of portico and cella and lies flush to the cliff to the left of the theatre at the far end of the terrace. The temple is therefore visible from the plain, but would have been obscured at the theatre level by the Roman proscenium which occupied the centre of the terrace.

A small temple to Hera Basileia has been identified on more or less the same level as a temple complex dedicated to Demeter and is dated to the rule of Attalus II. The title suggests that it was also associated with Stratonice, the consort of the king and the widow of Eumenes II. If an earlier shrine had been located here, it might have been more applicably dedicated to a Lacinian Hera and would also indicate the edge of the *chorē*, which even in the fifth century did not extended much beyond the hill itself. However, by the second century this temple was easily accommodated inside the fortifications.[40] A Sanctuary of Demeter a little to the south of this Heraion, a cult which frequently lay outside the urban area, could also represent the limit of the earliest *polis*.[41] This particular cult building here has been attributed to the period of Philetairos' rule.[42]

A monumental trophy called the Nicephorium to celebrate the victories over the Galatian tribes by Attalus I was built at some point not yet excavated on the hill opposite the acropolis across the valley of the Selinous, and was the focus of festivals celebrating the victories of Attalus I and his successors every fourth year.[43] The Nicephoria was inaugurated in 181 BC,[44] and the festival was recognized as panhellenic by the Delphic amphictyony. However, it should also be noted that it was destroyed on several occasions by various invading armies, even during the time that Pergamum was supposedly a major power in the west of Asia Minor. It was destroyed by the Macedonian king, Philip V when he besieged the city in 201 (Pol., 16.1.6). If it was restored in the aftermath of the peace of 197/6 it will certainly

have suffered severe damage again when Seleucus, the son of Antiochus III besieged the city in 191/0 (Liv., 37.18; App. *Syr.*, 26). Moreover, it was destroyed again by Prusias, the king of Bithynia in 155/4 (Pol., 32.27; App. *Mith.*, 3). The Nicephorium lay adjacent to the Aesculapion which would also have suffered damage during these attacks. It is therefore worth noting that when Pergamum's urban area expanded down from the acropolis, it became particularly vulnerable to marauders and the authorities appear unable to have provided this sector of the city with any useful degree of fortification.

The Serapion (Figure 1), more commonly known today as the 'Red Hall' on account of its exposed characteristically Roman red brickwork, which in antiquity was probably faced with marble, is really a combination of public baths and a cult centre to Egyptian deities including Serapis and Isis. Its construction belongs to the second century AD, and therefore was a part of the massive building programme which occurred in the city from the reign of Trajan down to the time of Marcus Aurelius (161–180). The whole concept in appearance and in ground plan is heavily reminiscent of the Baths of Caracalla at Rome, yet precedes that establishment by nearly a century. It is almost as if the architects drew their inspiration from such an example, especially since there is no comparable construction in Asia Minor, with perhaps the exception of the Baths of Herodes Atticus at Alexandria Troas, although these are on a somewhat smaller scale. On reflection, one would have to consider that the builders at Rome took their inspiration from the provinces! As Radt ([1998], 29) says, this temple complex was 'the one building of Roman Pergamum which faced directly the most important plaza of the city.'[45] To accommodate this grand structure the river Selinous was bridged, allowing extra space for the precinct, which measured about 250 metres in length and 100 metres wide (750 x 300 feet).[46] It seems at least likely that the builders of this edifice took their cue from the construction of the vaults on which the temple of Zeus and Trajan on the acropolis stands and, in a sense, this image of ingenuity was transferred from the Greek centre of the *polis* to its Roman successor. This building certainly fulfils the sort of monumentalism sought by many city communities in the Ancient Mediterranean to enhance their image. Pergamum had to wait long for such an edifice, which could not be accommodated on its acropolis.

A major restoration and enlargement of the long-standing precinct to Aesculapius (Figure 5) in the plain also dates to the time of Hadrian, when there was clearly immense building activity in Pergamum.[47] But this is also an indication that it was generated either by an increase in local

wealth or – perhaps more likely – the focus of imperial munificence from a series of Hellenophile emperors including Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius.[48] Quite why the focus should have been Pergamum rather than other cities is not disclosed. Construction of public buildings abounds in Asia in this period, so it is possibly only an indication of the whole process and luck that so much survives to be excavated in modern Bergama. The temple to Aesculapius had already figured in dramatic events in the first century BC and it continued to be a place which drew, one imagines, thousands of visitors annually, including rulers such as Caracalla. The temple as part of a complex sanctuary including a theatre, colonnade and hostel was reconstructed at this time as 'a half-scale copy of the Pantheon in Rome' (Radt [2001], 53). This suggests rather more than just inspiration and that, if not the work of the same architect, possibly Apollodorus of Damascus, then at the very least access to his original plans by those entrusted with the task at Pergamum.[49] It is striking, therefore, that by AD 150 Pergamum contained at least three remarkable buildings which illustrate extraordinary talent in construction techniques and planning: the so-called Trajaneum, built literally in the skies; the Serapeion, with its enormous precinct bridging a river; and the domed temple of Aesculapius. Other unique buildings may well have been erected in and around Pergamum and have escaped both comment and excavation. Yet what must be clear is that, with the exception of the 'Red Hall', none of the temples, those known and those still not identified, was on a massive scale. To make up for the lack of monumentality the sheer number of constructions compensated.

Likewise, Pergamum also came to possess an extravagant range of places of entertainment. The first theatre is credited to the rule of Philetairos in the years between 281 and 263. This theatre, which occupies the nearly vertical slope just below the Temple of Zeus and Trajan, clearly dates back to the Hellenistic period, probably mid-third century BC when such construction was in full swing around the Mediterranean. Then there was a second theatre in the plain, dating to the Roman period, adjacent to a hippodrome, made famous by its riots against Macrinus in AD 218. The amphitheatre at Pergamum is one of just three of this Roman export known to have been constructed in Asia Minor. The others are to be found at Cyzicus in Bithynia and Anazarbos in Cilicia. None of the venues for entertainment in the plain has been fully explored, but the existence of an 'entertainments quarter' again shows the heights of extravagance achieved by the Pergamenes in the second century.[50]

The water supply to the city was initially provided from the numerous cisterns found on the upper levels of the acropolis. Population growth

and expansion spurred innovation in this area, however, but contiguous to the consideration of providing additional amenities was the fact that, as Corbier ([1991], 222) notes, 'monuments of material prosperity which made the status of the city visible, those connected with water occupied a special place'.[51] Aqueducts became *de rigeur* for the successful Roman city, and Pergamum, where the supply of piped water dates back to the time of Eumenes II, was certainly not left behind.[52] Aqueducts carried the water from the plateau to the north of the acropolis, mostly in underground channels, until the water was conveyed by a vaulted conduit across the saddle dividing this higher land from the summit. The water was then forced up by pressure to the level of the acropolis and received in holding tanks before being released into fountains and private houses.

These private urban dwellings in the city, of which numerous have been excavated, now deserve some recognition. The most famous is probably 'Building Z' which lies someway down from the highest levels of habitation and adjacent to the Lower Gymnasium. The house is of a considerable size and clearly belonged to a family of some social significance and also probably in the public life of the city. It lies well beneath the main fortifications which surrounded the acropolis and is in close proximity to a baths complex which is said to have attracted a lower class of client. In the Roman Imperial period this house or villa was well inside the walls of the lower city, but, having been inhabited since the time of the kings, it is a little out on a limb from the palatial community higher up the hill. It is clearly the home of an established and prominent family, but probably not of royalty. It may well be that this building is associated in some way with the temple complex of Demeter which lies close by, or with one of the other shrines situated in the nearby Gymnasium. This area of the city in its earliest phase would have been susceptible to attack, lying outside the walls of the citadel. The rooms which can be viewed today display sophisticated mosaics and adaptations to the appearance of the (probably) public rooms of the house, which is quite clearly not constructed on the usual Roman villa model. The occupants may have been Pergamene of long-standing eminence and were perhaps priests or associated in some other way with one or more of the urban cults.

The focus of this chapter has obviously been the city of Pergamum – not exclusively so, however – so to conclude this discussion some brief remarks are offered for some of the other major cities of the Roman province of Asia. The enlargement of the kingdom of Eumenes II after the Treaty of Apamea was to take in numerous towns and cities which had previously been under Seleucid control. Antiochus III was, of course, obliged to accept a new

boundary to his kingdom no further west than the Taurus Mountains and Cape Sarpedon on the Cilician coast. A large swath of territory, therefore, became free and a gift to whomsoever the Romans chose. Some towns and cities were granted free status, some given to the Rhodians, especially in Lycia, the remainder to Pergamum. In the past century or so the Seleucids had maintained the former Persian administration of satrapies, but in Asia Minor these were now replaced by Eumenes II and his successors with *strategeia*; and the office of the *strategos*, once a position of commander in the army, now acquired in Pergamum a civilian and administrative function.[53] Since these cities became 'Pergamene' almost overnight, it was also inevitable that they should celebrate and advertise – willingly or not, as the case might have been – their new status and allegiance. The history of Ephesus, which became the senior city of Asia, is especially well documented and its coverage in modern scholarship is replete. Its perpetual fame was assured on account of its temple dedicated to Artemis, one of the seven wonders of the Ancient World.[54] That temple, situated a short distance from the urban area, does not overshadow the dignity of the city which was laid out among a number of low-lying hills beside the sea. The harbour was connected to the theatre by a grand avenue which, turning at a ninety-degree angle first to the right and within 200 metres to the left, becomes the main thoroughfare – the *Embolos* – of the city, climbing away from the sea to the main gate and fortifications at a height more or less level with its acropolis. As the *Embolos* takes its left-hand turn away, beside the *Tetragononos* or Square Agora is another of the city's famous buildings, its Museion. The foundation of the Museion of Celsus dating to the 120s therefore coincides with the great spurt in building at Pergamum and elsewhere and is, again, an indication of the generosity not just of another of the consuls of Trajan, but also of this emperor and his successor, Hadrian.

Sardis, the former residence of the Persian satraps of Lydia, with its colossal, although partly unfinished, temple to Artemis was fully Hellenised only during the third century BC when it became the chief city in Asia Minor of the Seleucid monarchs.[55] Herodotus (5.100–2) gives the impression that the city was a rather primitive place, albeit with an impregnable citadel on Mount Tmolus, although his evidence may perhaps be discounted as anti-Persian bias. Its incorporation into the kingdom of Pergamum from 189 reduced its status; nonetheless it flourished under the Romans, receives frequent mention in the literary sources (see Chapter 2) and the impressive remains – some reconstructed – indicate an urban environment of considerable size, made possible by a productive agricultural base and extensive trading connections by the Royal Road from

Mesopotamia, which lasted well into the Byzantine period.[56] Magnesia ad Meandrum, a city made famous by its connection with the Athenian Themistocles, author of the Greek victory over the Persians, and its temple to Artemis, survived into the Byzantine period, although by then in greatly reduced circumstances, and was eventually abandoned altogether.[57] For all the problems associated with the silting of its harbour by the Meander river, Miletus appears to have remained prosperous throughout the Late Roman Empire, with restoration work, following the Gothic incursions, financed by Diocletian, and major building recording down to the end of the sixth century. Thereafter decline set in and the urban area contracted into the quarter around the theatre. Recent discovery of a theatre at Didyma (2011) illustrates once again how complex the major sanctuaries were. If anything, the presence of a theatre at a temple dedicated to Apollo should rather be expected than not.[58] The temple of Apollo here is truly monumental, never completed, but with various buildings associated with the cult clearly occupied a huge area which remains, because of modern development, mostly unexplored.

The Image of Pergamum on the Coinage

During much of the period between Ipsus in 301 and Corupedium in 282/1 BC Pergamum was controlled by Lysimachus, but at some point, presumably shortly before 282/1, Philetairos, who by then had surely been in command of the garrison and the bullion store contained in the fortress for several years, switched his allegiance to Seleucus. The stockholding of various metals was clearly used in the production of coins not on a regular basis but as required;[59] and this was the primary use of such 'banks' needed whenever one of these Hellenistic warrior kings went on campaigns with his army. His troops, unlike during the Classical period, needed to be paid. Bullion is an easily exhaustible resource but fortunately for the later rulers of Pergamum there was gold and silver to be mined from Mt Ida on the edge of the *chorē* and hence available for the payment of mercenaries required for an army to respond to times of threat.[60] Payment for warships, too, was an expensive item on the defence budget and Pergamum soon acquired a coastline which needed to be defended.[61] The emergence of a purely Pergamene coinage which, like most states in antiquity, was highly personalized was, in a fiscally based societal structure, hardly likely to be delayed for long after Philetairos secured some sort of independence in the Caicus Valley.

The earliest coinage attributed to Pergamum dates to well before this time, however, and can be associated with Persian rule in the fifth century.[62] The coins issued here, perhaps down to 323 and even later, were rather neutral in content in contrast to what emerges during the third century. However, the portrayal of Heracles found on the obverse of such coins can be traced back to the link between this site and the foundation myths associated with Teuthrania (see Chapter 1). It may also be connected with Alexander, who claimed descent from the Heraclidae, but especially with his supposed illegitimate son of the same name, who resided there down to 310.[63] The obverse with the palladium of Athena is unusual in that its facing profile and warlike stance, in keeping with one of the primary functions of the deity, suggests a hoplite standing in battle line.[64] The Sanctuary and temple of Athena was among the first cult buildings to be constructed on the acropolis here and it was clearly the patron deity of the community, as noted above. The coinage of an independent state of Pergamum commenced officially during the rule of Eumenes I but had already begun during that of his predecessor. From the start the issues adopt that regal attitude which one would assume for a monarchy, a regal head and deity on the reverse. However, Pergamene coinage not only becomes remarkably rich in artistic merit but is unique in antiquity, if not in world history. Not enough has been made about this in scholarship, and so I attempt to remedy that here.

Probably the most famous of the early Pergamene coin issues is the tetradrachm series which has on the obverse a striking face of a male figure who is taken to be Seleucus Nicator, while on the reverse Athena is pictured seated facing left with a shield at rest held in the right hand.[65] Behind the deity is the simple legend 'of Philetairos'. At first sight, the coin therefore appears to provide a strong affirmation of the master of Pergamum's choice of allies and his move from the camp of Lysimachus in around 282/1. [66] The mature diademed head of the Seleucid monarch – aged then in his late seventies – certainly suggests allegiance to a new key figure in affairs in western Asia Minor. However, the significance of the sitting Athena is less easy to fathom when an Athena Palladium might have been better suited to the unstable times. Moreover, the legend explicitly names the coin as that of Philetairos himself and not that of the Seleucid king nor represents itself as one of the many mints of the Seleucid kingdom. It is highly unusual – if not unique – for a mere garrison commander, even one in charge of bullion, to issue coin in his own name for his king and so this particular issue must have been meant to carry a strong message. If all the elements on both sides of the coin are taken into account, it would seem to point to

an important date in the history of the city. Although there appears to be no considered argument on the subject, consensus was apparently reached many years ago (and does not seem to have been reiterated) that the date of the coin lies somewhere in the late 270s or early 260s. That being so, the identity of the figure on the obverse of this coin should at least be the subject of scrutiny.

If the coin is dated to 282/1 then it is explicable that Seleucus might appear on a coin of a place formerly the possession of Lysimachus, though the latter never did. However, this coin then should be regarded as propaganda tied to a crucial date for the future history of an entire region, but this explanation falls away if it was only circulated several years later and long after the death of Seleucus who, like his adversary Lysimachus, died in 281. Could it, therefore, have been a commemorative issue, and if so why? For what by then can have been its purpose and its intended effect more than a decade after Seleucus' infamous murder? The reclining Athena perhaps means that warfare is at an end and peaceful conditions are in force, which would indeed hint at a later production date. Seleucus, in keeping with developing Hellenistic traditions, received divine status as the founder of his dynasty, but the coin seems to portray a figure on the obverse with a diadem simply as a current ruler. So who is on this coin? The fact is that we simply do not know what Seleucus looked like, of course, but the *communis opinio* is that the portrait on the Pergamene tetradrachm represents Seleucus Nicator; this is based presumably on the facial similarities to be observed on a bust labelled Seleucus from Herculaneum in Campania. Yet Seleucus' own rather militaristic coinage bears only a faint resemblance, while, if one were to look for a subject among his immediate successors, Antiochus I and Antiochus II, there is no resemblance at all.[67]

So if this coin does date to about 270/69, then why Seleucus – if it is Seleucus – and not his successor, the then current king Antiochus I? It would make sense for Philetairos to honour his current rather than former overlord, but it makes no sense to honour a former overlord if the message is one of gathering impetus towards independence, as has been suggested. Thus Philetairos, increasingly independent of Syria, chose a decade or so after the death of his former chief ally to honour this dead ally on a coin which was meant to show Pergamum's independence. Some might find this argument convincing, but it does seem a little tenuous. Philetairos could as easily have issued coin with the image of Antiochus I (281–261) since it is recorded that he was initially, at least, on good terms with that monarch. His successor, Eumenes, according to Strabo, fought against Antiochus and won a victory in battle, a confrontation which could have resulted in the

production of celebratory coinage but does not appear to have done so. So if not Seleucus Nicator, who else could appear on the coin diademed in this fashion if not Philetairos himself? This would be the natural course of events for a ruler wishing to stress his own command of affairs. However, it has always been accepted that of all the kings of Pergamum, Philetairos, the founder of the dynasty, is the sole Attalid to be portrayed on the regal coinage of Pergamum, although he himself was never a king.[68] This is in itself somewhat odd behaviour, quite touching if it is an example of filial piety, but even stranger when one remembers that Philetairos was a eunuch, a point which will be returned to in this discussion. The lack of development on Pergamene coins is therefore as striking as their obvious artistic finesse, since coinage was a medium, artistic or technical, which did see great innovation in the Hellenistic-Roman republican period, yet no king features on the coinage of an independent Pergamum.[69] As discussed in Chapter 1, Pergamum officially became a kingdom when Attalus I adopted the diadem after his victory over the Galatians in about 239/8. Philetairos had died in about 263, when his nephew Eumenes succeeded to the rule, again as dynast or tyrant and not attributed with a royal title.

All portraits assumed to be Philetairos are, without exception, most unlike the figure taken to be Seleucus. Indeed, at least one issue is dated to the rule of Philetairos himself and predates the Seleucus issue. In the end, it does look as if the Seleucus portrait belongs to the late 280s, not to a decade or so later, which makes sense in the context of the production and the development of Pergamum as an independent state. A commemoration of the founder of the Seleucid kingdom when his successor reigned and by a dynast or tyrant trying to assert or proclaim a distance from a former ally lacks feasibility. The chronology of the Pergamene issues is therefore in need of revision at least.

Still, there are further startling aspects to the coinage of Pergamum. It was fine for Philetairos to have his new ally or chief Seleucus on the coins of Pergamum, but, as he became bolder, he placed his own image on the coinage during his lifetime and allowed himself to be portrayed diademed. This means that as far as the engraver was concerned, and presumably the subject too, this was the portrait of a king. Neither Philetairos nor his immediate successor is credited with kingship, yet the coinage seems to tell a quite different story. The accepted chronology of the Pergamene coinage shows the diadem very clearly illustrated for at least thirty years before it was formally adopted by Attalus I in 239/8. Moreover, the diademed head of Philetairos becomes symbolic for the kingship of all subsequent Attalids, hence it is certainly plausible to suggest that Philetairos was hailed king and

accepted this rank during his own lifetime. I suspect that scholars shy away from this possibility because of Philetairos' 'disability', but why else would he have portrayed himself diademed and continued to be so portrayed after his death?

After his death in about 263, Philetairos received cult honours as befitting the founder of his family's rule over Pergamum and, in effect, the founder of the *polis*. He must therefore have possessed a founder's shrine similar to that of any heroon, which were very commonly erected around the Mediterranean by Greeks wherever they founded settlements. That in itself, perhaps, is not remarkable, but the fact that Philetairos was a eunuch is exceptional and, without a doubt, unique. It illustrates, moreover, that through familial rather than filial piety a member of the family, whatever his status, could acquire cult and become a god, for, once proclaimed, he also received an annual festival and sacrifice. Annual festivals named the *Philetaireia* were inaugurated beyond Pergamum in various cities such as Cyzicus, and on the sacred island of Delos. This phenomenon may have been encouraged through the efforts of Eumenes I and his influence in western Asia Minor, but it also indicates a departure in the whole concept of Hellenistic kingship.[70] The *Philetaireia* must obviously have been celebrated first in Pergamum, but it is interesting that if there was hesitation about celebrating such a eunuch's life and career outside the city, any opposition was overcome through the generosity of the next Attalid ruler.

So not only did Philetairos obtain cult status but he also portrayed himself diademed, if the coinage is accurately dated to his rule, and was certainly portrayed diademed on later coin issues. Philetairos the eunuch was therefore a king and a god, a truly unimaginable climax for one so afflicted. A quasi-parallel exists in Hermias, tyrant of Atarneus and Assos, who was executed by the Persians in 341 and who was a friend of Aristotle. Eunuch status is also claimed for him, but this may have more to do with a servile background than a disability, since Aristotle married his daughter and his son Alexander became tyrant after him.[71] He is, moreover, not celebrated on the coinage, but did acquire cult status. Of course, it might also have been highly astute politics by Attalus I, who is said to have taken the diadem only in 239/8 to portray both his predecessors as kings in order to enhance his own pedigree, but it makes no sense that Eumenes, also supposedly not a king, should do so for Philetairos. Yet the coinage with its diademed portraiture which continued throughout Eumenes' rule implies that he, too, was a king. There was absolutely no reason why Philetairos and Eumenes should not have styled themselves as kings, although the former would again have been unique in doing so. Philetairos' position goes well

beyond the normal practices of Hellenistic kingship and the esteem in which his successors held him is strikingly unusual among kings of this – or indeed of any – period. The Attalids seem to have shrugged off the obvious physical deformity of their ancestor and instead broadcast it very loudly and glorified this unfortunate state which Philetairos overcame and achieved such unexpected heights.

It is true that Strabo (13.4.2) does not refer to either of these figures as kings, while the epigraphic evidence neither adds to nor detracts from this argument.[72] It will be remembered that Gongylus in the fifth century BC was the dynast or tyrant of Myrina and that his wife Hellas possessed the acropolis at Pergamum. Philetairos had been appointed commander of the fortress at Pergamum and had later been confirmed as its ruler, so kingship was just a small step in a political environment where many other leaders were taking the title. Thus kingship had sprouted in Pontus, Cappadocia and Bithynia, and further afield in Sicily, so why not in the Caicus Valley as well?[73] It may not have been a military victory over Antiochus I by Eumenes or over Galatian tribes by Attalus I to prompt that move.

The extraordinary series of tetradrachms with their diademed rulers on the obverse from early in the second century were matched in style and output by another distinctive series which long survived it and which was to be produced throughout the Roman imperial period. The coins bearing the *cistophoros* and snakes (the Asian viper) most likely date from soon after the Treaty of Apamea (189/8) and, as the name implies, were used for the collection of tribute or *phoros* from those cities such as Sardis,[74] Ephesus and Tralles, which were either transferred from the kingdom of Antiochus III to Eumenes II or which had previously been independent but were given to Pergamum as gifts under the Roman settlement.[75] The motif of the serpents linked the coins to the cult of Dionysus in whose temple the tribute may have been kept, but also to the cult of Aesculapius and its shrine at Pergamum, which rivalled its original home in Epidaurus in the Peloponnese. Even after the demise of the kingship, this coinage continued to be produced in many years down through the Roman Empire. Note that occasional exceptions were made to the practically standardized Pergamene issues of tetradrachms portraying Philetairos and the *cistophoric* coins, also based on multiples of the drachma. Thus the striking of a tetradrachm, perhaps to celebrate the inauguration of the festival to Athena Nikephoros, dated to about 181 BC, but this adds to the imagery of Pergamum with its allusion to the Nicephorium noted in the discussion above.[76] Silver coinage remained common during the first century, but thereafter, although the coin issues of the Pergamum mint are fairly constant throughout the

Roman period and yield valuable information about the city's topography and history not found in other sources or revealed through excavation, they are for the most part low-denomination bronze coins. For example, the temple to Rome and Augustus voted by the citizens of the city in about 29 BC is featured, as is the temple of Rome and Trajan completed in the mid-second century AD.[77] Later still, coins honouring various emperors such as Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Commodus and, of course, Caracalla are almost a commonplace. Notwithstanding their points of interest and celebration of visits by the rulers, they nonetheless represent a very small percentage of the wealth in circulation. Such local coinages were used in day-to-day transactions in the market place; the larger denomination issues in gold and silver made up the larger sums required to finance the hectic building programme of the second and early third centuries. The long-standing *cistophoric* allusions to Dionysus disappeared, but the existence of the coins shows that, once again, the boundaries of Hellenistic kingship were challenged simply by the continuity of the Attalid-inspired coinage and the evident esteem with which it was viewed by the local communities and, after 133 BC, by the new dominant power. The mint at Pergamum, while undergoing many changes during the course of time, possesses a worthy longevity, finally ceasing only during the early Byzantine period. However, regional Byzantine issues continue to the end of the twelfth century AD and probably at least another fifty years after that, with coins containing the portraits of Michael VIII, Andronicus II and Michael IX all represented either from the mint at Constantinople, or the mints at Magnesia ad Sipylum and Philadelphia.

The People of Pergamum

Thus far the discussion has dwelt on the rural and urban landscape of Pergamum and the physical remains of not just this city but also some of its neighbours around the region which became Asia down to the period of the Byzantine Empire. Next there has been some analysis of the image conjured from the exceptional coinage of Pergamum and how this changed or maintained its continuity with the past. Therefore, it remains to conclude, again in fairly brief fashion, with some mention of the image, which has been projected purposely or interpreted by the sources, of its people, either its rulers or its famous residents. It is clear that just as Pergamum is almost constantly under review by the historians of antiquity, so too under the spotlight are its most famous citizens, although

sources such as Strabo reveal a wealth of talent resided in this region. Just as today it has become fashionable to describe certain people as 'iconic' (meaning trendsetters) or 'legendary' (meaning famous within their lifetimes), so too in antiquity was the cult of the personality important and of great interest to audiences. This argument may be advanced with ease if cognizance is taken of the number and variety of biographies which were written about famous individuals, whether rulers such as the Caesars or generals, statesmen, philosophers, even prostitutes. All cities aspired to the possession of famed citizens and Pergamum was not exceptional in this desire to shine through the glory of its own personalities. It is notable that, for the most part, during the Roman period those who achieved the greatest claim, often within their own lifetimes, were associated in one way or another with learning in the ancient sense of the concept; that is, a pursuit of wisdom. Thus, whereas Thucydides makes Pericles affirm that Athens in the fifth century was the school of Greece (2.41), it is clear that Pergamum was its equal for a very much longer period, especially during the course of the Roman Empire.

Well schooled indeed – even the kings of Pergamum, who were clearly an exceptional line of rulers. Philetairos, a eunuch by chance, a civil and military commander, was honoured by his descendants and indeed by the various communities of Asia.[78] As noted above, this extraordinary eunuch received cult status and annual festivals and sacrifices as a deity, and it is his portrait, and his alone, which appears on the coinage of Pergamum, the only ruler of the state to do so in constant reissues of the same type by all his successors. A eunuch who appears diademed on the coins signifying kingship, yet was probably not a king himself but honoured as if he was one by his family, Philetairos was evidently a remarkable individual who was able to survive the dynamic and dangerous world of Alexander's successors for probably at least thirty years as ruler of Pergamum. Not only did he outwit Lysimachus and make himself a valuable ally for the Seleucids, in turn growing independent of that powerful state, but in the process he laid the foundations perhaps initially for a modest sort of kingdom which, if short in duration, has left an indelible mark on the history and culture of the West.

His nephew, Eumenes I inevitably, perhaps, is a far less well-defined figure and there is no good coverage in the sources of his time as dynast or ruler, if indeed he did not take the title of king. His coins show Philetairos diademed, so it is certainly plausible to argue that Eumenes considered himself a king in all but name. A great victory over Antiochus I is credited to him by Strabo somewhere close to Sardis, but other than this event the

personality of the ruler is obscure, except that he was clearly as much in the Hellenistic warrior mould as his contemporary rulers. Victory over an adversary such as Antiochus would have warranted the taking of the diadem; if Eumenes did not do so, then it does cast doubt on the historicity of an episode which does not appear to have given him much, if any, territorial advantage. His lands were still, for the main, in the Caicus Valley.

Attalus I very clearly wanted to portray himself as a warrior in the mould of Alexander. Yet his sphere of influence was also small and so the projecting of an image of greatness may well, for this ruler, have meant allying himself to a greater state from which he might derive prestige and ultimately enhance his own power. It is from the last decade of the third century, perhaps mindful of the advantages which Hieron II of Syracuse had gained from a similar switch in alliance, that we see the beginning of a fruitful arrangement between Rome and Pergamum from which both drew benefits but which made the latter the greatest power in Asia Minor, arguably for fifty years in the East.

Eumenes II cuts a dashing figure as outstanding cavalry commander at the battle of Magnesia ad Sipylum in 190 where he led his Pergamene troops against the Seleucid left wing, which he smashed through and turned to complete the encirclement of the Syrian phalangites comprising the centre of Antiochus III's army, which he then helped rout. He was clearly a person of great self-confidence in his own ability and was secure in his own position, which allowed him several visits away from his kingdom. He was no stranger to Rome or to the Greek mainland. Yet he was also at hand to defend his city in person in the 190s and in the following decade when attacked by the forces of Bithynia. Eumenes is also the sole Pergamene monarch for whom 'authentic' sayings were preserved.[79] This is related by Livy in his coverage of events following the assassination attempt on the king at Delphi in 172, and is meant perhaps to expose a negative side to the king's character which the historian endeavoured to portray in this period of war with Macedonia. The result, however, is that it merely suggests a mild but petulant nature, and later on one that was prone to avarice (Liv., 44.25.6–8, 10–12).

Attalus II is best remembered for his long life, and while he was king for twenty years, he had been virtual joint ruler with his brother for a decade before that. His apparent loyalty to the king, whom he refused to depose after the Third Macedonian War in 168, even when encouraged to do so by Roman friends, had been questioned by Eumenes some years before in the days following his injuries at Delphi (Liv., 42.16.8). Attalus was, however, clearly far too adept in diplomacy to be caught out for long, and while king

himself he plainly enjoyed the part of meddler and manager of affairs, not just his own but also of those of his neighbours.

Attalus III, besides the last king of Pergamum, is also the only monarch about whom anecdotal material remains, which either notes his apparent interest in botany or his tyrannical rule. Plutarch's account of the king, who apparently enjoyed as a hobby cultivating poisonous plants (*Dem.*, 22.2; cf. Pliny, *NH*, 18.22), should be regarded probably as unhistorical, since although there may be a germ of truth in the king's interest in such plants and their drugs it was also a hobby attributed to Mithridates VI of Pontus. The tyrant's use of poison is something of an ancient *topos* and may well have been used here to bolster the image of Attalus as brutal and unscrupulous.[80] Attalus, although not averse to the usual pursuits of his Hellenistic warrior ancestors, is portrayed as an unsuitable monarch,[81] a tyrant whose passing was not mourned by his people. Ancient propaganda may well be present here from a Roman source keen to portray Rome's takeover in a positive light while denigrating the last Attalid king. Thus Diodorus in particular seems to go overboard in his negative description of Attalus:

> […] soon after he became king, Attalus adopted a distinctly different way of ruling to that of his predecessors […] being cruel and murderous he brought disaster and death to many of those he ruled. On account of his cruelty he was hated not only by his own subjects but also by those of neighbouring states, and so he made his subjects enthusiastic for a change in the system of government. (Diod., 34/35.3)

However, even if there some exaggeration here, it does suggest that Attalus' bequest of Pergamum to the Romans had less to do with a lack of heirs but was a way to preserve the kingdom in some form rather than allow complete disaster to overtake it. It also explains why a rebel leader such as Aristonicus was able to tap into such hatred of the current regime exemplified by the elite and entrenched families of cities such as Pergamum and Ephesus, and why these chose to take the side of Rome rather than a quasi-Attalid succession. If Attalus was as autocratic as he is portrayed here (as noted in Chapter 2) it would also explain why many of the wealthier cities preferred not to trust another Attalid and decided to take their chances with a new and foreign regime. Indeed, Appian (*B.C.*, 5.4) has Antony after the battle of Philippi in 42 declare to an assembly of delegates at Ephesus, which included Pergamene representatives, that the Romans had treated the cities of Asia far better than their former king had done.[82]

While the focus of attention tends to be on the rulers, there were private individuals, either Pergamene or foreigners, who enjoyed some prominence in the state prior to its dissolution. Those mentioned in the sources include Apollodorus of Athens (ca. 180–120 BC), who lived in Pergamum during the reign of Attalus II (158–138), to whom he dedicated his poem *Chronika*. The dedication of literary outpourings to the current ruler, who presumably was also praised in the process, compare the praise of Ptolemy II Philadelphus by Theocritus and earlier works by Pindar to the Syracusan ruler Gelon and Bacchylides to Theron of Akragas. A Pergamene statesman named Andronicus played a prominent role in the destruction of Prusias II, king of Bithynia (App. *Mith.*, 1.4–5) and seems to have acted very much as a free agent.[83] Another Pergamene citizen named Philopoemen was a general and a close advisor to the same king, although he may have been one of the casualties of the new reign.[84] The demise of the kingship rapidly brought other citizens to the forefront. The first of these, within weeks of the death of Attalus III, was a certain Eudemus, who delivered to Rome the last will and testament giving directions for the transfer of the kingdom to the Roman people. However, this Eudemus was caught up in the current political storm connected with the agrarian legislation of Tiberius Gracchus and, whether knowingly or not, caused something of a scandal. Gracchus saw the forthcoming revenues from the former royal estates which would now become *ager publicus* or state-owned land as a possible means of financing the wherewithal to farm the allotment of state land to citizens who possessed none. The move was the cause of much controversy among the members of the senate in the midst of whose debate about the proposal it was claimed that Eudemus had visited the home of Gracchus where 'he had presented Tiberius with the diadem of a king and purple robes as he was likely to be king in Rome' (Plut. *Ti. Gracch.*, 14.2).[85] That the role of an otherwise obscure diplomat, who obviously disappears from the scene shortly after he had arrived on it, should be so well remembered over two centuries later says something of the stir it supposedly caused at the time, although the accuracy of the episode is probably questionable.[86] Whether Eudemus was as apparently naive as he appears is also open to some doubt, since an experienced Hellenistic diplomat, knowing the mindset of the Romans, would not have allowed himself to become embroiled in local politics.[87] It was far too dangerous to become involved in the internal affairs of another state while ambassadors were not guaranteed safety. It is perhaps more likely that the affair was invented by Gracchus' political opponents and Eudemus may well have been relieved to leave the snake pit into which he was briefly pitched in the summer of 133.

Menodorus, a contemporary of Eudemus, is named on an inscription dated to Pergamum in the mid–120s and was a member of the city's governing council.[88] He is representative of the local elite adjusting to the new order, especially the introduction of Roman juridical process implicit in this document, through whom the new rulers had to work in order to restore stability after the recent unrest in the new province. Unfortunately little is known of this Pergamene or of others in this time of transition.

However, an Ephesian notable named Philopoemen is recorded as being the father-in-law of Mithridates VI (App. *Mith.*, 12.48),[89] while a conspiracy to kill the king of Pontus consisted of other local Greeks who were clearly members of his inner circle (*Mith.*, 12.48).[90] The plot failed, while another involving sixty prominent citizens of Pergamum was also exposed and these too were executed, but none are named by Appian. The loss of so many prominent citizens will certainly have caused problems for the city, although it is mentioned frequently during this lengthy war, as noted in Chapter 2. Still, of the Pergamene elite nothing much comes to light again until Strabo dwells for a short time on famous citizens of his time. It says something about this cult of personality that Strabo attaches almost equal importance to the famous citizens of various cities he covers in his survey of the Mediterranean World down to the principate of Tiberius. He evidently recollects some who were within his own lifetime but also others who belonged to a generation or two earlier. Thus he notes (13.4.3) from the middle of the first century BC as one the most famous Pergamene citizens, but who clearly possesses an oriental name, a certain Mithridates, a son of Menodotus and Adobogion. Mithridates' mother belonged to the Gallic Tolistobogii and was probably a daughter of Deiotarus, tetrarch and later king of Galatia (ca. 80–40), while Menodotus was of the same family and perhaps her cousin. Adobogion supposedly had also been a concubine of Mithridates VI of Pontus, hence the name of her son. It is interesting to note that Mithridates was therefore technically not a native of Mysia but was actually a Galatian on both sides of his family and was tetrarch of the Trocmi;[91] hence must have obtained Pergamene citizenship perhaps in return for some benefaction. However, if Deiotarus's wife Berenice was really a daughter of Attalus III, last king of Pergamum, then Mithridates not only claimed citizenship through the maternal line but was also a member of the former ruling dynasty. Mithridates obviously held a prominent place in the community through the middle years of the first century and his stature and political alliances resulted in him being rewarded with the kingship of the Cimmerian Bosporus by Caesar after the civil war with Pompey in which he was instrumental in saving the Romans

besieged in Alexandria (Appian, *Mith.*, 17.121).[92] However, this kingship appears to have ended with his own death soon after that of Caesar, since his rival Asander ruled the ancient Crimea from about 44 until his death in 17.[93] Mithridates clearly had access to the highest political and social circles of Rome, and pursued a career almost as regal as his ancestors. He was certainly capable of leading any armed forces placed at his disposal or which he might levy himself. Yet in Pergamum he remained simply a distinguished citizen. Any trace of his euergetism in the city has disappeared, although for one so influential he must have been responsible for considerable embellishment of the city.[94] The relative freedom of action and resources to raise troops may be a sign of the instability of the times and that Roman provincial government had but all broken down, leaving powerful local magnates of Asia to act with greater independence than they had enjoyed during almost the preceding century.

At the same time, inadvertently perhaps, Strabo starts to highlight the other more cultural side of Hellenistic Pergamum which achieved ascendancy as its political power was eclipsed. Strabo names just three notable Pergamenes. The first was Mithridates, whose career – or at least that for which there is evidence – followed very much the Hellenistic warrior ethos exemplified by the heroic activities of Alexander and the Diadochi which was perpetuated in real or inventive ways by the Attalids. However, Apollodorus, who is named immediately after Mithridates, by contrast presents a personal achievement of a very different kind: that is, excellence in the teaching of rhetoric. But such was the mastery of his skill that he too was courted by and mixed with the highest echelons of the Roman governing class. Apollodorus, who lived somewhat later in the first century, is named as a friend and teacher of Augustus and, inevitably for someone patronized by the first Roman emperor, acquired celebrity status. A younger contemporary of Apollodorus named Dionysius Atticus is also named here, who, says Strabo, was a writer of history, probably of Pergamum along the same sort of lines as Memnon of Heracleia Pontica, and another rhetorician. Dionysius was probably still alive when Strabo wrote his account. These famous citizens represent in their various ways a recognizable strand of occupation among the ancient elite of military excellence on the one hand and philosophy – in its broadest definition – on the other. Radt notes the patronage of prominent citizens in the period after the kingship, citing a Diodorus Pasparus who paid for renovations to gymnasium and had a hero shrine erected in his honour, either in the provisions of his will or in recognition of his largesse.[95]

Cyme as the place of birth of the historian Ephorus is deemed a brief mention, although more for the humorous anecdote about the generally

regarded stupidity of the Cumaeans (13.3.6).[96] Sardis was the home of Diodorus Zonas, a distinguished orator who lived during the wars with Mithridates and who evidently achieved widespread fame for his talent. A son, also named Diodorus, who was also a writer of poetry, is claimed as a personal friend of Strabo (13. 4.9). Strabo may well have been acquainted with this city. A historian named Xanthus was from Lydia but Strabo is not aware of his *patria*. Pisidian Antioch was the home of the sophist Diotrephes (13.4.15). Similarly, those Ephesians, citizens of the senior city of Asia from about the time of the Roman takeover, described by Strabo (14. 1.22–26) are all from the cultural rather than military field, although he begins with the notorious arsonist Herostratus, who was responsible for the destruction of the temple of Artemis in 356. Unfortunately we are not told why he came to set fire to the temple, which was rebuilt only a generation later. Alexander the Great, who had just conquered Asia Minor following his victory over the Persians at the Granicus river, offered to finance the project. The Ephesian elite, however, preferred to tax their own citizens and seek private donations and their behaviour is highly reminiscent of the Romans during the Second Punic War, who called for similar measures to finance their fight against the Carthaginians when in straitened circumstances after Cannae (Liv. 44.25.6–8, 10–12)

> For this purpose they called for the women's ornaments, private donations and income from the sale of the columns of the previous temple. Evidence for this may be seen on public decrees of that time [...] Artemidorus states that Alexander promised to cover the costs of the reconstruction not only that which had been done but any which should occur in the future provided that this gift of his be recorded for the public to see. The Ephesians refused to agree to this [...] Artemidorus also praises the response of one Ephesian to the king who said that 'it was not correct for a god to provide temples dedicated to other gods.' (Strabo, 14.1.22)

Strabo's reference to Artemidorus is of interest, since he was not only a primary source for the Pontic geographer but was a geographer himself who hailed from Ephesus, and probably wrote on much the same sort of theme but confined to the East. Artemidorus lived in the first century BC, was roughly a contemporary of Mithridates of Pergamum and cuts a highly influential figure both at home and abroad. In his notice about famous Ephesians Strabo focuses on one episode of Artemidorus' career to illustrate his eminent place in the local hierarchy. Having first referred

to the orator Alexander Lychnus, a contemporary of the writer, and earlier notables such as Heracleitus, Hermodorus a lawmaker, and the poet Hipponax (14.1.25), Strabo goes on to recount a financial crisis in Ephesus caused by a loss of revenues from two coastal lagoons next to the harbour in the estuary of the Cayster river. The source of the income is not explained – possibly fish or a harbour tax on shipping which used these safe waters for anchorage or beaching – but that it had been taken away from the temple of Artemis to which this territory had belonged. The Romans had restored this lucrative source of income to the temple and hence to the city, presumably after 133 BC. However:

> Then the *publicani* seized the revenues by force and converted these for their own use. As he himself states, Artemidorus was sent in a legation to Rome in order to recover these possessions for the deity [...] which he succeeding in doing through presenting the case in court. In recognition of his services the Ephesians erected a gold statue in his honour in the temple. (Strabo, 14.1.26)[97]

On the whole, the people discussed by Strabo from this region of Asia Minor reinforce the image of Asia, comprising Ionia, Mysia and Lydia, as a place celebrated for its erudition and its culture.[98] Miletus was especially famous for its educated elite such as Thales, one of the seven ancient sages, the philosopher Anaximander, Hecataeus the first writer of history, and Aeschines, a noted orator of the first century BC (Strabo, 14.1.7).

Just like Mithridates of Pergamum, even two hundred and fifty years later a connection with royalty still meant something among the provincial elite of Asia Minor and indeed Pergamum. Thus some real or imagined decent from the Attalids persisted through C. Iulius Severus, consul about 138 and proconsul of Asia between 152and 53. Moreover, this was not simply an example of *hubris* by a provincial parvenu but by a senator close to the centre of power. It was also at a time when Hellenic culture was much in vogue with the governing elite of the Roman Empire.[99] Asiatic medicine and its proponents were also much in fashion, as the success of various physicians who migrated from Asia to Italy plainly indicates. Thus Thessalus of Tralles in Lydia, but also an important city of the former Pergamum, was a physician of the first century AD who also spent time in Rome as a highly successful practitioner with access to the highest social and political circles and was employed at the court of Nero.[100] Connected with medicine in a different way was Apollonius of Tyana in Cappadocia, not strictly a native of the province of Asia but nonetheless deserving of mention here since

he spent a considerable part of his life and career either in Pergamum, Ephesus or Rome. He is said by Philostratus, our main source of information on Apollonius' life, to have foretold the death of Domitian (*LoA*, 8.26; cf. Dio, 67.18.1) while giving a lecture in the theatre at Ephesus. He was later to be honoured by the emperor Caracalla (see Chapter 3) on account of his powers as a healer and hence another medical practitioner of this region. He had spent many years in Rome where he is also said to have had close, but not always amicable, relations with the emperors Nero and Domitian. In old age he returned to Asia, where he clearly became something of a celebrity.

Again, it was not descent from royalty but the connection with medicine which brought Pergamum its greatest fame in the second century AD on account of two persons living at more or less the same time who shared the same gentilicial name of Aelius. The first was the writer Aelius Aristides, the second Aelius Galenus, better known as Galen. Aristides was born near Pergamum in the last years of the rule of Trajan and appears, like his contemporary Galen, to have belonged to the wealthy provincial elite of Asia. In fact, he studied in Athens and was probably destined for a public career until affected by unspecified ailments which resulted in much of his adult life, until his death during the reign of Commodus, being spent either in Pergamum at the Aesculapion seeking a remedy for his illness or in Smyrna. In both cities he practised as a teacher, composing a number of literary works mostly connected with rhetoric.[101] However, if there is a single name which is most associated with Pergamum in the Roman period it is Galen, a follower of Hippocrates and Plato, whose medical knowledge and opinions, even if not always correct,[102] came to influence medical research down nearly to the twentieth century. A bare outline of his life is easily obtainable and well attested: he was born about 129 from a wealthy background, employed as physician to the gladiators at Pergamum, had an initial visit to Rome in 162 where he was admitted to the intimate circle of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, returned to Pergamum about 166 possibly because of a severe plague in Rome, followed by another return to Rome where he spent the rest of his life. [103] Continued interest in his work has preserved an extraordinary literary output; yet there is still something intangible, perhaps purposely so, about his character to be gleaned from his writings than, for example, from those of one of his equally learned near-contemporaries Plutarch.[104] His medical research is well documented by Galen himself but, as in all aspects of intellectual interest in antiquity, it was linked within an overarching philosophical context which made him as much a sophist as a physician. Nevertheless, what is plain is that Galen's

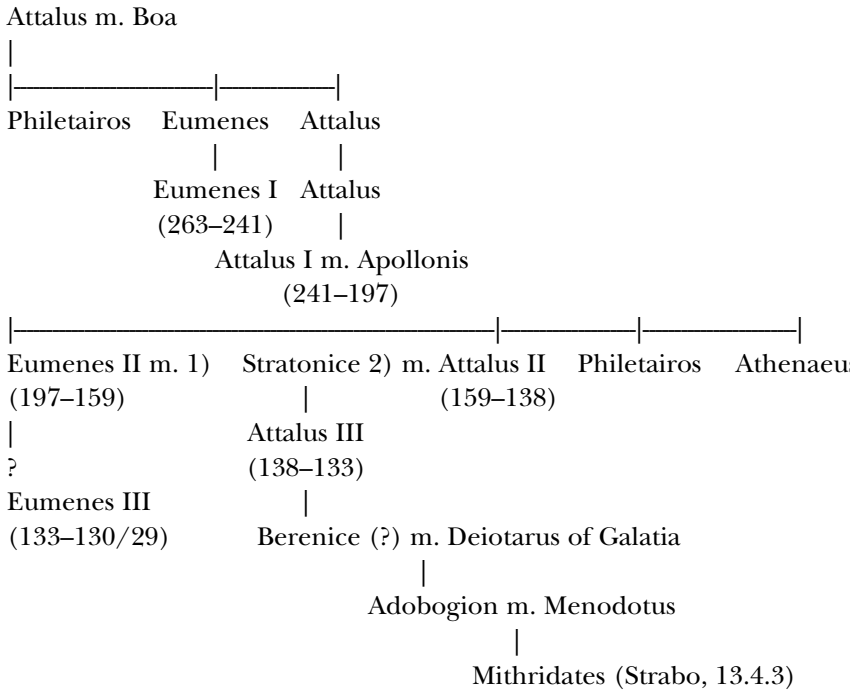
example, both in academic endeavour and in the triumphs he achieved, captured the spirit of a time when it was no longer a prerequisite of the successful individual in the empire to be a Roman or an Italian. Yet his own comments about his fellow Pergamenes who did not live in the city are both illustrative of the urban culture to which he belonged and the disdain with which he viewed those who lived out beyond its walls.[105]

> Concerning bull's dung [...] Some doctor in Mysia, in Hellespont, expert in drugs, smeared dropsy sufferers with dung and made them recline in the sun. And the same man also applied [dung] to the inflamed part of rustics, taking [it] moist, when the bulls were grazing on grass [...] It is however necessary to know that all these types of remedies [sc. dung and other similar remedies] are good for the hardened bodies of rustic men, diggers, harvesters and those accomplishing this type of heavy work, in which case (and against scrofulous swellings) the doctor from Mysia used [the dung].
>
> Galen, *Mixing and Powers of Simple Drugs*, 10.23 (Kühn, 12.300–1)[106]

Still, in more senses than one, Galen became a sort of king of Pergamum and brings this history of the city to a full circle, from exiled rulers and eunuch kings through Hellenistic kingship, provincial elites and ruler cults to physician monarchs. The story of Pergamum is a rich one in many respects, not only in material terms because of its archaeological sites, where there is still much to be explored, but also because of the literature which it either inspired or caused to be written about it, and moreover on account of its colourful and informative socio-political history. Truly a history of Pergamum goes beyond the simple bounds of kingship and is the history of a particularly fascinating paradigm in Greco-Roman civilization.

Appendix 1: The Attalid Dynasty

While there is no complete certainty about the relationships between all the individuals in the family of Philetairos – and these are discussed by Allen in a comprehensive fashion[1], – the main features are shown below.



Appendix 2: The Kings of Bithynia, Pontus and Cappadocia

Bithynia	*Pontus*	*Cappadocia*
Prusias I 228–182	Mithridates III 220–185	Ariarathes IV 220–163
Prusias II 182–149	Pharnaces I 185–170	Ariarathes V 163–130
Nicomedes II 149–127	Mithridates IV 170–150	Orophernes 157
Nicomedes III 127–94	Mithridates V 150–120	Ariarathes VI 130–116
Nicomedes IV 94–75/4	Mithridates VI 120–63	Ariarathes VII 116–101
	Pharnaces II 63–47	Ariarathes VIII 101–96
		Ariarathes IX 96/5
		Ariobarzanes I 95–63
		Ariobarzanes II 63–51
		Ariobarzanes III 51–42
		Ariarathes X 42–26

Appendix 3: Proconsuls of Asia under the Republic (133–31 BC)[2]

During the last century of the senatorial government of the Roman Empire the seniority of the proconsul allotted to the province of Asia was governed by the political and military conditions affecting the region. Thus the financial crisis in the 90s drew the more senior figure of Q. Mucius Scaevola (cos. 95), whereas ex-praetors were more regularly employed as proconsuls. An increasing trend to appoint consuls becomes apparent from the 70s and this was maintained by Augustus after he assumed sole control of the empire after 30 BC. The close proximity, not only in geographic terms but also in involvement in military events of the period, allows for the presence here of Cicilia, made a *provincia* perhaps only formally in the settlement of the East by Pompeius in 63/2. Prior to that date Cilicia appears more likely to have been a military appointment without civilian administrative duties.

131	P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus (cos. 131)
130	M. Perperna (cos. 130)
129–126	M.' Aquillius (cos. 129)
113	M. Antonius (cos. 99) – quaestor and quaestor pro praetore in Asia (*MRR*, 1.536, 539)
107–106?	Cn Aufidius (*MRR*, 1.553)
	C. (Fabius) Labeo
	L. (Calpurnius) Piso
	M. (Plautius) Hypsaeus
107–104?	C. Billienus (*MRR*, 1.553)[3]
104–103?	C. Cluvius L.f. (*MRR*, 1.560)
102–100	M. Antonius (cos. 99) active in Cilicia
97–96?	L. Cornelius Sulla (cos. 88) – active in eastern Asia Minor either before or after Scaevola[4]
95	Q. Mucius Scaevola (pr. 98; cos. 95) (*MRR*, 2.5 n. 2 & 7 under 98 but with some uncertainty)

94–93	L. Gellius Poplicola (cos. 72) (*MRR*, 2.15 and n. 4)
93–92?	L. Valerius Flaccus (cos. suff. 86, aed. 99, pr. 93?) (*MRR*, 2.18–19)
92–91	C. Iulius Caesar (pr. 92?)
91–90	L. Lucilius L.f. (pr. 91?)
90–89	C. Cassius Longinus (pr. 90?)
88–84	L. Cornelius Sulla (cos. 88)[5]
86	L. Valerius Flaccus (cos. suff. 86) was sent by a hostile senate leadership to command the campaign against Mithridates. He was murdered by his legate, C. Flavius Fimbria, who occupied Asia but subsequently committed suicide at Pergamum.
84–81	L. Licinius Murena (pr. 89/8?)[6]
81–80	A. Gabinius (pr. ?) – sent to negotiate with Mithridates and seems to have eclipsed Murena's involvement, hence possibly his replacement sent by Sulla[7]
80	M. Minucius Thermus (pr. 81)
79	C. Claudius Nero (pr. 81)[8]
77?	Terentius Varro (pr. 79) (*MRR*, 2.91)
76	M. Iunius Silanus (pr. 78)
75	M. Iuncus (pr. 76)[9]
74–69	L. Licinius Lucullus (cos. 74)[10]
68	P. Cornelius Dolabella (pr. 69?) – for the proconsuls 68–64, *MRR*, 2.139 and n. 9
67	L. Manlius Torquatus (cos. 65)
66?	P. Varinius (?)
65	T. Aufidius (pr. 66?)
64	P. Orbius (pr. 65?)
63	P. Servilius Globulus
62–61	L. Valerius Flaccus
61–59	Q. Tullius Cicero (pr. 62)
58	T. Ampius Balbus (pr. 59)
57	C. Fabius Hadrianus (pr. 58)
56	C. Septimius (pr. 57)
55–53	C. Claudius Pulcher (pr. 56)
52–50	Q. Minucius Thermus (pr. 58/53?)
49	Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio (cos. 52) [49 L. Antonius (cos. 41) quaestor pro praetor]
48	C. Fannius (pr. 54/50?)
48–46	Cn. Domitius Calvinus (cos. 53)
46–44	P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus (cos. 48)

44–43	C. Trebonius (cos. suff. 45)
43–42	M. Iunius Brutus (pr. 44)
42–41	M. Antonius (cos. 44)
40	L. Munatius Plancus (cos. 42)
38–37	M. Cocceius Nerva (cos. suff. 36) (*MRR*, 2.392)
36–35	C. Furnius (pr. 42?)
35?	M. Titius
34?	C. Norbanus (cos. 38)
33–32?	M. Herennius (cos. 34)

Proconsuls of Cilicia

102–100	M. Antonius (cos. 99) – attested as active in Cilicia but probably based in Asia[11]
[95–94?	L. Cornelius Sulla (cos. 88) – as above (*MRR*, 2.14–15 and n. 3)
89–88	Q. Oppius (pr. 89?) – first attested proconsul based in Cilicia and the absence of proconsuls here for some years after suggests that the senate had no inclination to send commanders or had the resources to do so.
80–79	Cn. Cornelius Dolabella (pr. 81) – begins a regular run of proconsuls for Cilicia[12]
78–75	P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus (cos. 79)
74	L. Octavius (cos. 75)
74-	L. Licinius Lucullus (cos. 74) – combined with Asia for the war against Mithridates
68–66	Q. Marcius Rex (cos. 68)
66–63	Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos. 70)
56–53	P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther (cos. 57)
53	Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos. 54)
51	M. Tullius Cicero (cos. 63)
49–48	P. Sestius (pr. 54/50)
47	Q. (Marcius) Philippus (pr. 48?)
45	L. Volcatius Tullus (pr. 46)
38–37	C. Sosius (cos. 32)

Appendix 4 – Proconsuls of Asia in the Early Principate (31 BC-AD 161)[13]

The names of some of the proconsuls and their dates of tenure remain elusive while others, noted below, remain conjectural. By and large the list is nonetheless more complete for Asia than for any other province. The eminence of several individuals is evidence enough of the prestige attached to holding this overseas posting. Note also the preponderance of *consules ordinarii* rather than *suffecti* during Augustus' principate, again especially another note of distinction.

Augustus[14]	29?	M. Tullius Cicero (cos. suff. 30)
	28–27	Potitus Valerius Messalla (cos. suff. 29)
	26–24?	Sex. Appuleius (cos. 29)
	24?	M. Iunius Silanus (cos. 25)
	23?	C. Norbanus (cos. 24)[15]
	20?	Q. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 21)
	12?	M. Vinicius (cos. suff. 19)[16]
	10–9	Paullus Fabius Maximus (cos. 11)
	8?	P. Cornelius Scipio (cos. 16)
	7?	Iullus Antonius (cos. 10)
	6–5	C. Asinius Gallus (cos. 8 BC)
	5?	L. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 15)
	4–3?	P. Sulpicius Quirinius (cos. 12) – conjectured by Syme
	2–1	Cn Cornelius Lentulus (cos. 14)
	AD 1	L. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 1 BC)
	2	C. Marcius Censorinus (cos. 8 BC) – possibly 2 BC (see above note 16)
	3–4	C. Antistius Vetus (cos. 6)
	4–5	M. Plautius Silvanus (cos. 2)
	?	P. Vinicius (Cos. AD 2)
	?	L. Volusius Saturninus (cos. suff. AD 3)
	11–12	L. Valerius Messalla Volesus (cos. AD 5)

Tiberius	12–15	C. Vibius Postumus (cos. suff. 5)[17]
	15–16?	Lucilius Longus Favonius (cos. suff. 7?)
	16–17	Sex. Nonius Quinctilianus (cos. 8)
	17–18	Q. Poppaeus Secundus (cos. suff. 9)
	20–21	C. Iunius Silanus (cos. 10)
	21–22	M'. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 11)
	22–23/4?	C. Fonteius Capito (cos. 12)
	24–25?	Sex. Pompeius (cos. 14)
	25–26	(M.?) Favonius (cos. suff. 13?)
	26–29	M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 6)
	29–35?	P. Petronius (cos. suff. 19)
	35–36?	M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus Messallinus (cos. 20)
	36–37?	C. Vibius Rufinus (cos. suff. 21/22?)
Gaius	37–38	C. Calpurnius Aviola (cos. suff. 24)
	38–39?	C. Asinius Pollio (cos. 23)
	39–40?	M. Vinicius (cos. 30, II 45)
	40–41	C. Cassius Longinus (cos. suff. 30)
	41?	C. Stertinius Maximus (cos. suff. 23)
Claudius	41–42?	P. Cornelius Lentulus Scipio (cos. suff. 24)
	42/3?	C. Sallustius Crispus Passienus (cos. suff. 27, II 44)
	43–44?	Paullus Fabius Persicus (cos. 34)
	44–45	?
	45–48	P. Memmius Regulus (cos. suff. 31)
	48–49	?
	49–50	A. Didius Gallus (cos. suff. 39)
	50–51	Cn. Domitius Corbulo (cos. suff. 39)
	51–52	P. Suillius Rufus (cos. suff. 41?)
	52–53	L. Pedanius Secundus (cos. suff. 43)
	53–54	Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (cos. suff. 45, II suff. 74)
Nero	54	M. Iunius Silanus (cos. 46)
	55–56	Marius Cordus[18] (cos. suff. 47?)
	56–57	M. Vettius Niger (cos. suff. 47?)
	57–58	Q. Allius Maximus (cos. suff. 49)
	58–59	L. Vipstanus Poplicola (cos. 48)

	59–60	Messalla Vipstanus Gallus (cos. suff. 48?)
	60–61?	C./A.? Pompeius Longinus Gallus (cos. 49) – Magie (1950), 1582
	61–62?	Q. Marcius Barea Soranus (cos. suff. 52)
	62–63	P. Volasenna (cos. suff. 54?)
	63–64	L. Salvius Otho Titianus (cos. 52)
	64–65	L. Antistius Vetus (cos. 55)
	65–66	M.' Acilius Aviola (cos. 54)
	66–67?	M. Aefulanus (cos. suff. 54/55)
	67–68	M. Aponius Saturninus (cos. 55?)
Galba	68–69	C. Fonteius Agrippa (cos. suff. 58)
	69	M. Plancius Varus (cos. ??)
Vespasian	69–70	M. Suillius Nerullinus (cos. 50)
	70–73	T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus (cos. suff. 62)
	73–74	A. Ducenius Geminus (cos. suff. 61?)
	74–75?	M. Aponius Saturninus (cos. bef. 69?) – Degrassi, *Fasti Cap.*, 151
	75–76?	M. Vettius Bolanus (cos. suff. 66)
	76–77?	Ti. Catius Asconius Silius Italicus (cos. 68)
	77–78?	Arrius Antoninus (cos. suff. 69?)
Titus	79–80	M. Ulpius Traianus (cos. suff. 70?)
	80–81	C. Laecanius Bassus Caecina Paetus (cos. suff. 70/71?) – Degrassi, *Fasti Cap.*, 20–21
Domitian	81–84?	M. Atilius Postumus Bradua (cos. ??)
	85–86	Sex. Iulius Frontinus (cos. suff. 73?)
	86–87	P. Nonius Asprenas Caesius Cassianus (cos. suff. 74/5?)
	87–88	C. Vettulenus Civica Cerialis (cos. suff. 75?)
	88	C. Minicius Italus (*procurator Asiae*)[19]
	88–89	L. Mestrius Florus (cos. suff. 75/6?)
	89–90	M. Fulvius Gillo (cos. suff. 76?)
	90–91	L. Luscius Ocrea (cos. suff. 77?)
	91–92	
	92–93	P. Calvisius Ruso Iulius Frontinus (cos. suff. 79)
	93–94	L. Iunius Caesennius Paetus (cos. suff. 79)
	94–95	

	95–96	
	96–97	Sex. Carminius Vetus (cos. suff. 83)
Nerva	97–98	P. Calvisius Ruso (cos. suff. 86?)
	98–99	Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator (cos. suff. 84?)
Trajan	99–100	
	100–101	Q. Julius Balbus (cos. 85)
	101–102	(Q. Vibius) Secundus (cos. 86)
	103–104	C. Aquillius Proculus (cos. suff. 90)
	104–105	L. Albius Pullaienus Pollio (cos. suff. 90)
	105–106	Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (cos. suff. 92)
	106–107	C. Antius Iulius Quadratus Bassus (cos. suff. 94, II 105)
	107–108	L. Nonius Calpurnius Torquatus Asprenas (cos. 94, II 128)
	108–109?	M. Lollius Paullinus Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus (cos. suff. 94, II 125)
	109–110	
	110–111	L. Baebius Tullus (cos. suff. 95)
	111–112	Q. Fabius Postumus (cos. suff. 96)
	112–113	C. Cornelius Tacitus (cos. suff. 97)
	113–114	A. Vicirius Martialis (cos. suff. 98)
	114–115	M. (Ostorius) Scapula (cos. suff. 97/9?)
	115–116	Q. Fulvius Gillo Bittius Proculus (cos. suff. 98)
	116–117	Ti. Iulius Ferox (cos. suff. 99?)
Hadrian	117–118	Galeo Tettienus Severus M. Eppuleius Proculus Caepio Hispo (cos. 101?)
	118–119	C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus (cos. suff. 100)
	119–120	Trebonius Proculus Mettius Modestus (cos. suff. 102?)
	120–121	Cornelius Priscus (cos. ?)
	121–122	Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus Quadronius Proculus (cos. suff. 106)
	122–123	C. Minicius Fundanus (cos. suff. 107)
	123–124	Q. Roscius Coelius Murena Silius Decianus Vibullius Pius Iulius Eurycles Herculanus Pomepius Falco (cos. suff. 108?)
	124–125	M. Peducaeus Priscinus (cos. 110)

	125–126	T. Avidius Quietus (cos. suff. 111)
	126–127	P. Stertinius Quartus (cos. suff. 112)
	127–128	
	129–130	P. Iuventius Celsus (cos. suff. 115?, cos. II 129)
	130–131	P. Afranius Flavianus (cos. suff. 115?)
	131–132	L. Aelius Lamia Aelianus (cos. 116)
	132–133	C. Iulius Alexander Berenicianus (cos. suff. 116)
	134–135	Q. Gargilius Antiquus (cos. suff. 119)
	135–136	T. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus (cos. 120)
	136–137	Q. Pomponius Marcellus Rufus (cos. suff. 121)
Antoninus	138–139	L. Venuleius Apronianus (cos. 123)
	140–141	M. Valerius Propinquus (cos. 126)
	144–145	Ti. Claudius Iulianus (cos. 129/30)
	145–146	Ti. Iulius Quartinus (cos. 130)
	146–147	T. Atilius Maximus (?)
	147–148	L. Antonius Albus (cos. 132)
	148–149	Q. Flavius Tertullus (cos. 133)
	149–150	Popillius Priscus (cos. 132/4?)
	150–151	P. Mummius Sisenna (cos. 133)
	151–152	T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio (cos. suff. 136?)
	152–153	C. Iulius Severus (cos. 138?)
	153–154	P. Cluvius Maximus Paullinus (cos. suff. 138?)
	154–155	P. Popilius Carus Pedo (cos. suff. 147)
	155–156	L. Stertinius Quintilianus Acilius Strabo Q. Cornelius Rusticus Apronius Senecio Proculus (cos. suff. 146)
	156–157	L. Statius Quadratus (cos. 142)
	157–158	T. Statilius Maximus (cos. 144)
	160–161	P. Mummius Sisenna Rutilianus (cos. suff. 146)

Appendix 5: The Cities of Asia

a) Mysia, Ionia, Phrygia, Pamphylia and Lycaonia

1. Pergamum – chief city of the Attalid kingdom, but during the course of the first century BC lost its prime position to Ephesus.
2. Ephesus – free city of Ionia, but given to Eumenes II as part of the Treaty of Apamea in 189 BC. Ephesus became the regular residence of the Roman proconsuls and one of the largest urban centres in the Roman Empire.
3. Smyrna – another of the Ionian cities which reverted to Eumenes' possession in 189 and became arguably the third city of Asia of comparative size with Ephesus.
4. Sardis – former chief city of the Persian satraps of Lydia, and added to Pergamum after the defeat of Antiochus III in 190/89 BC.
5. Miletus – free Ionian city with strong links to Pergamum and one of the major cities of Roman Asia.
6. Aphrodisias – Carian city, but later a major centre in Roman Asia with a shrine to Aphrodite.
7. Magnesia ad Sipylum – became a self-governing city within Pergamum after the Treaty of Apamea.
8. Magnesia ad Meandrum – city with significant cult to Artemis.
9. Priene – one of the original Ionian cities, declined in size and influence in the Roman Empire.
10. Apamea – originally Celaenae and a major Seleucid city in Asia Minor, founded by Antiochus I, and later of Pergamum.
11. Thyateira – early acquisition of Pergamum from the third century and defended the Upper Caicus Valley.
12. Laodicea ad Lycum – founded by Antiochus II and part of Pergamum by the second century BC.
13. Apollonis – military foundation, part of the scheme of defending the Caicus Valley from attack from the East.
14. Attaleia – close to Thyateira and a military foundation aimed at defending the Caicus Valley.

15. Attaleia (Pamphylia) – a second-century foundation in land granted to Pergamum in 189 BC.
16. Cyme – Ionian city famous in antiquity for the stupidity of its citizens, says Strabo.
17. Elaia – harbour of Pergamum, sometimes referred to as a naval station and perhaps never a substantial civic community compared with a harbour such as Piraeus.
18. Myrina – coastal city in Mysia eclipsed by Pergamum.
19. Philetaireia – as its name suggests, a military establishment for mercenaries situated in northern Mysia.
20. Phocaea – formerly one of the great trading cities of the Archaic period whose citizens settled in Massilia (modern Marseilles), but less prominent in the Roman period.
21. Colossae – ancient city in the Lycus Valley which survived down to the Roman Empire
22. Telmessos – cities of the same name in Lycia (with an important oracular shrine) and Caria.
23. Tralles (Seleucia) – subject city of Pergamum, but remained important during the Roman period.
24. Colophon – Ionian city with the important oracle of Apollo at Claros.
25. Clazomenae – one of the Ionian Cities.
26. Lebedos – one of the Ionian Cities, noted as a home for actors associated with the cult of Dionysus.
27. Teos – member of the Ionian League with two harbours.
28. Erythrae – one of the twelve cities of the Ionian League; possessed an important oracular shrine.
29. Myus – Ionian League city originally on navigable waterways, but the Meander river silted up its harbour which caused a decline in population and resulted in a synoecism with Miletus.
30. Cibyra – cities in Caria and Pamphylia. The name persisted into the late Byzantine period.
31. Antioch in Pisidia – founded by the Seleucids, but a part of the Pergamene kingdom from 189 BC.
32. Perge – ancient city of Pamphylia, ruled by Pergamum from 189 BC.
33. Acmonia – city of Phrygia and an important centre during the Roman Empire.
34. Parthenion – one of the early settlements in the Caicus Valley.
35. Gryneion – still a substantial enough settlement to be stormed and sacked in 335 BC and afterwards re-established.

36. Teuthrania – one of the earlier settlements in the Caicus Valley, later overshadowed by Pergamum.
37. Myonessus – town adjacent to Teos; site of sea battle between the Romans and the fleet of Antiochus III in 190.
38. Nysa – centre of culture in the Meander Valley.
39. Antioch ad Meandrum – founded by Antiochus I but became part of the Pergamum kingdom from 189.
40. Synnada – ancient Phrygian city.
41. Philadelpia – foundation of Attalus II near Sardis and an important centre down to Byzantine times.
42. Hierapolis – developed as a city under Eumenes II (197–159 BC).

b) The Troad, Hellespont and Caria

1. Halicarnassus – ancient city of Caria; birthplace of Herodotus and famous for its Mausoleum.
2. Ilium – ancient Troy and through Aeneas linked with Rome, although this connection did not save it from at least one sack by Roman armies.
3. Alexandria Troas – late foundation in the Troad by Lysimachus, but which flourished down to late antiquity.
4. Adramyttium – Aeolian city and harbour town.
5. Assos – Aeolian city, ruled by the tyrant 'eunuch' Hermias and later by Pergamum.
6. Lampsacus – free city and ally of Rome from the second century BC; one of the cities granted to Themistocles by Artaxerxes I.
7. Sigeum – refuge of Hippias, former Athenian tyrant, and an important harbour town in the northern Troad, but abandoned by the first century AD
8. Abydos – Hellespontine city opposite Sestos which was besieged by Philip V in the Second Macedonian War in 200 BC.
9. Alabanda – important Carian city and independent during the early Roman Empire.
10. Stratoniceia – founded by Antiochus I; important free Carian city under the Roman Empire.
11. Tabae – free city of Caria.
12. Dardanus – Hellespontine town where Sulla and Mithridates VI met to end the First Mithridatic War in 85 BC.
13. Rhoeteum – site of tomb of Ajax, but the town had decayed by the end of the first century BC.

Notes

Introduction

[1] R. Fagles, *Homer: The Iliad* (Harmondsworth 1991), 179: 'And Apollo swept Aeneas up from the onslaught / and set him down on the sacred heights of Pergamus, / the crest where the god's own temple had been built.' Note also Vergil, *Aeneid*, 2.624–31: 'prolapsa Pergama' or 'Troy ruined'.

[2] Recently the title of a work edited by H. Koester (Harvard 1998) is entitled 'Pergamum: Citadel of the Gods' and so another play on *Pergamos*.

[3] Thus see B. Levick, 'Greece and Asia Minor', *CAH*² Volume 10 (Cambridge 1996), 644: '[…] the Attalid kings promoted and consolidated Greek art and culture […] in what was to become […] the Roman province of Asia, making their capital, Pergamum, an outstanding example of the hellenistic city.'

[4] Earlier habitation, though not much before the seventh century, is attested from archaeological remains. These play no particular part in this discussion. For a brief summary of this and the myths associated with the region see E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamum* (New York 1947), 4–8, and more recently on excavations on the acropolis of Pergamum, W. Radt, 'The Urban Development of Pergamum', in *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor*, *JRA* Supp. 45 (Portsmouth 2001), 43–5.

Chapter One

[1] As one of the last great Hellenistic warrior kings, Pyrrhus of Epirus, found when he tried to extend his kingdom into Italy in the 270s.

[2] He was the founder in about 312, and certainly became the greatest ruler, of the Seleucid kingdom which, for a short time in the third century, occupied the greater part of Alexander's empire, from the Hellespont to the Indus valley.

[3] Pisistratus did take power in an armed coup, Hieron was victorious over the Etruscans at Cumae in 474, and Pericles led several military campaigns as *strategos*, but none was remembered particularly for his military prowess.

[4] Dionysius II has definitely had a bad press and is – wrongly – not regarded as a warrior king, although the ancient literature – especially the evidence from Diodorus – quite clearly indicates otherwise. His later, somewhat luxurious lifestyle has tempered the reality of the warrior status he possessed.

[5] Agathocles (317/6–289) and Hieron II (276/5–215) of Syracuse are obvious examples of this dual ambition at just the same time as Pergamum's foundation

and early history. Further work is intended here in a comparative study of Pergamum and Syracuse in the third century BC.

[6] Hansen ([1947], 5–6 and n. 13) discusses the elaborate tale of Telephus, which is more a reflection of the earliest Greek settlements in western Asia Minor – the descent from Heracles and, more specifically, Heraclidae is a common enough theme. Note also S. Stephens, 'Hellenistic Culture' in *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies*, ed. G. Boys-Stones, B. Graziosi, P. Vasunia (Oxford 2009), 92.

[7] If Hellas' husband was indeed the exile from Eretria from the time of its sack in 490 by Persian invaders, he must by then have been long dead, and she a widow of considerable age herself (Herodt., 6.101).

[8] The former Athenian tyrant Hippias had gone into exile in Sigeum in the Hellespont or even Sardis, and later guided the Persians to Marathon (Herodt., 6.107–108). The Spartan king Demaratus had been excluded from the kingship and had fled into exile, but accompanied Xerxes in his invasion of Greece in 480 (Herodt., 6.64–70). He was subsequently given lands in the Caicus Valley at Halisarne and Teuthrania.

[9] The nature of these settlements is also highlighted by the aid they gave to one another – Assyrian cavalry and Hyrcanian hoplites for Asidates were clearly from veterans' colonies. And mercenaries or former mercenaries too are likely to have formed not just Xenophon's company but also his reinforcements.

[10] The Carcasus is identified by Hansen ([1947], 9) as the Ilia-Tschai near Sanas, but this is really a modern supposition and quite impossible to verify from any ancient source.

[11] Parthenion was even farther up the valley and was far enough to make Asidates' move one which must again have occurred over several days, since he took all his moveable wealth with him.

[12] F. W. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World* (Glasgow 1981), who quotes W. H. Buckler & D. M. Robinson, *Sardis* vii, i (Leiden 1932).

[13] Cyrus was killed in the battle at Cunaxa and Xenophon, with several thousand other Greek mercenaries, was left stranded near Babylon. Their epic return journey is the substance of the *Anabasis*. For a recent interpretation of that journey home, see T. Rood, *The Sea! The Sea! The Shout of the ten Thousand in the Modern Imagination*, (London 2004).

[14] The *Iliad*, translated by R. Fagles (Harmondsworth 1990), 318–19.

[15] The *Odyssey*, translated by E. V. Rieu (Harmondsworth 1946), 140, 255.

[16] Gryneion and Myrina are among the twelve Aeolian cities listed by Herodotus (1,149) and hence along with Smyrna, also listed, indicate a long history of human occupation.

[17] Eretria was besieged probably in the early summer of 490 by the Persian forces led by Datis and Artarphernes and captured when, according to Herodotus (6.101), the city was betrayed by two of its citizens, Euphorbus son of Alcimachus and Philagrus son of Cyneus. After this the Persians launched their famous invasion of Attica, landing at Marathon where they were heavily defeated (Herodt., 6.113–17). Gongylus is not mentioned in the siege by Herodotus but was presumably associated with these Medizing Eretrians, or at least is noted as being in the pay of the Persians by Thucydides (1.128) and Diodorus (11.44.3). Xenophon (*Hell.*, 3.1.6) apparently provides confirmation of the Medizing when he states that the

sons of Hellas, Gorgion and Gongylus, were rulers respectively of Gambreion and Palaegambreion and Myrina and Gryneion, which had formerly been ruled by Gongylus, 'the sole Eretrian to have joined the Persian side'. This suggests that Xenophon never met Gongylus and that he was dead before 400/399. A young man in 490 might have conceivably lived on for sixty years in comfortable exile, but not for nearly a century, and therefore the husband of Hellas may in fact be related to those Medizers noted by Herodotus. Bosworth (*CAH* 6 [Cambridge 1994], 868 n. 59) notes that Gongylus himself had received the land in Mysia for his support of Persia. Xenophon in his history also notes that Procles and Teuthranias of Halisarne were, like Eurysthenes of Teuthrania, descended from Demaratus, presumably cousins rather than brothers since the first two appear, like Gongylus, to be youngish men. It should also be noted that Themistocles, the architect of the eventual Greek victory over the Persians in 480/79, was, when ostracized from Athens, an exile in this part of Asia Minor, having been received favourably by Xerxes, who granted him the cities of Magnesia ad Meandrum, Lampsacus and Myus as his personal domain (Diod., 11.57.7; Plut. *Them.*, 29.7). Themistocles died in Magnesia. His family lived on the city for many years, it seems, and a shrine to Themistocles was preserved here (Plut. *Them.*, 32). Famous exiles from the Greek mainland were, therefore, a common feature of the cities in western Asia Minor. When the Athenian tyrant Hippias was exiled in 510 he went with his family to Sigeum on the Hellespont, a town which had been occupied by his father Pisistratus (Herodt., 5.94).

[18] It may have been a comparable property to that granted, among numerous others undoubtedly, to Laodice, the mother of Seleucus II and the first wife of Antiochus II, after he divorced her. This property in the Hellespont is described as consisting of a *baris* or house, and a village named as Pannu Kome with all its lands, other smaller settlements on this land and the farmers or *laoi* who lived there and their property and the income from the land (Walbank [1981], 128; C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence of the Hellenistic Age* [Yale 1934] no. 18, ll. 1–14). Laodice actually took up residence in Sardis. Hellas may have received Pergamum after the death of her husband as a dowager's residence.

[19] See further discussion in Chapter 6 on the land of Pergamum.

[20] R. E. Allen (*The Attalid Kingdom* [Oxford 1983], 24, n. 52) argues *contra* Meyer ([1925], 97–9), based on the epigraphic evidence from the rule of Eumenes I, that Gongylus had also been the ruler of Myrina, which seems to have been the senior urban centre. Myrina escaped the fate of Gryneion, which was sacked by a Macedonian force led by Parmenion in 335 just prior to Alexander's invasion of the Persian empire (Diod., 17.7.9). Gryneion was evidently refounded. The shrine dedicated to Apollo at Gryneion remained a cult centre of importance with a noted oracle.

[21] It is at least possible that the Orontes noted as satrap of Armenia was the father of the Orontes who was satrap of Lydia-Mysia fifty years later. He may have led a vigorous and long life, but the career looks a little too elongated to be sure.

[22] See Hansen (1947), 10–11 and n. 38, for a discussion of the inscription the 'Pergamum Chronicle' and its relationship to the Aesculapius cult.

[23] While all the sources for Alexander except Arrian mention Heracles, they remain fairly vague on his real relationship to the king. Diodorus (20.20.1, 20.28.1–4)

evidently used a source which considered that he was Alexander's son and that source may well have been Hieronymus of Cardia, considered a reputable historian in antiquity. Curtius (10.6.11) has Nearchus mention the existence of a son, but that since he was illegitimate he had no claim to the Macedonian kingship. Plutarch (*Alex.*, 21.4) mentions Barsine, former wife of Memnon, but not Heracles; Appian (*Syr.*, 9.52, 9.54) twice states that Alexander had two sons. Justin (11.10.2) says that Barsine was the mother of his son Heracles.

[24] It is also probably worth noting that the accident which caused Philetairos to become a eunuch (crushed as a baby in a crowd) is not unique and may be a *topos*. Solomon, a general of Justinian, was similarly afflicted while Narses, another of this emperor's commanders, was not only energetic into extreme old age, but a eunuch and a general. Note further employment by eunuchs by Mithridates VI Eupator (App. *Mith.*, 16.107–8).

[25] See, for example, Allen (1983), 9 n. 4: 'His position was certainly not a military one'; E. Kosmetatou, 'The Attalids of Pergamum', in *The Oxford Companion to the Hellenistic World*, ed. A. Erskine (Oxford 2006), 160, 167; but note the more sensible comments of Hansen (1947), 15.

[26] Narses, the general of Justinian, is possibly the best example, but the references to eunuchs in Pontic military commands in the Mithridatic Wars (first century BC) show that they were never employed solely in administrative tasks.

[27] Sons usually took the name of the father or grandfather, there being no particular convention suggesting that Philetairos may have been the grandfather's name. Clearly one son, perhaps the eldest, was named after the father; the names Eumenes and Philetairos may represent earlier generations or names employed in collateral branches of the family.

[28] *OCD*², 814; Hansen (1947), 15.

[29] Arrian, *Anab.*, 1.17.7, 3.6.7, 7.23.1; Hansen (1947), 14.

[30] There seems to be no doubt about Philetairos' place of birth, but there is a slight chance of some confusion here. The translator of Strabo (1893, 2.399 = 13.4.1) describes Philetairos as being from 'Tyana', and Strabo indeed describes at this point as □νήρ Τιανός, but Tyana is in Cappadocia, although this was perhaps a more strategic site and a more appropriate posting for the father of Philetairos than Tieum. Still a question of doubt over the origins may be advanced. The Attalids could not suppress the fact that Philetairos was a eunuch and perhaps a Paphlagonian background was deemed preferable to that of Cappadocian.

[31] It is said that Alexander found 50,000 talents in the treasury at Susa in 330 (Arrian, 3.16), another 50,000 in Persepolis (Plut. *Alex.*, 37; Strabo, 15.3.9). When Diodorus (17.71) and Curtius (5.6.9) maintain that 120,000 talents were found in Persepolis, they have probably conflated totals of Persian reserves held here, Susa and Pasargadae.

[32] For more discussion of the coinage see Chapter 4.

[33] The date is fairly secure, being January or February 281, if seven months intervened between the battle and the murder of Seleucus in Thrace in the late summer of the same year (Bevan [1902], 1.122).

[34] Memnon of Heracleia, the earliest extant literary source, states proudly (5.7) that Lysimachus was killed by Malacon of Heracleia who was serving in Seleucus' army. Oddly enough, Lysimachus was precisely the same age as Antigonus at his

death. The major Diadochi – Antigonus, Lyimachus, Seleucus and Ptolemy – all lived into a vigorous and active old age.

[35] R. J. A. Talbert (*Atlas of Classical History* [London 1985], 73) for no good reason places Corupedium without query in the Hermus Valley nearer to Magnesia ad Sipylum than to Sardis.

[36] E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus* (London 1902), 65. Seleucus possessed the city of Tarsus in his kingdom from the time of Ipsus (Plut. *Dem.*, 47); and Tarsus, just east of the Taurus range, was regarded as the western and legitimate limit of Seleucid rule by the Romans following their victory at Magnesia ad Sipylum over Antiochus III in 190/89. Any lands to the west of the Taurus were regarded as later and illegitimate gains by the Romans.

[37] For a possible site see Bevan (1902), 1.71 and Appendix C, Volume 2. Sardis and Pergamum are a mere seventy miles apart via Thyateira (Akhisar).

[38] No ancient literary source describes the battle, only that Lysimachus was defeated and killed (Pol. 18.54.4; Nepos, 21.3; Strabo, 13.4.1; Memnon, 57; App. *Syr.*, 64*;* Paus. 1.10.5).

[39] See also Chapter 6 for more detailed discussion of these coins.

[40] Unlike Sardis, which became the main Seleucid city in Asia Minor during the course of the third century and was the residence not only of Laodice, first wife of Antiochus II but also her son, Seleucus II before he regained Antioch from Berenice, sister of Ptolemy III, in 241. Laodice seems to have remained in Sardis and her younger son, Antiochus Hierax was based there for much of the next decade. Achaeus, cousin of Antiochus III, proclaimed himself king here about 222 and was killed at Sardis in 216.

[41] *OGIS*, 265; Walbank (1981), 151; Allen ([1983], 16–18) argues that this may represent pre-Attalid connections and only shows merely a reciprocal honour on the basis of equals.

[42] Perhaps as many as forty years in total.

[43] Alexander's massacre of the Branchidae (Curtius, 8.5.28–55) shows that Greeks could – and did – survive for many years far inside the Persian Empire, but that their fate (as in the case of this particular family group, being the descendants of those who had betrayed Didyma to the Persians in 494/3) was subject to the whim of the new ruler.

[44] Plutarch (*Dem.*, 28.3) says that Antigonus had 75,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry while his opponents together commanded 64,000 infantry and 10,500 cavalry.

[45] Antiochus III certainly possessed these numbers at Raphia in 217, Panion in 200 and Magnesia ad Sipylum in 190.

[46] Allen (1983), 20–1.

[47] Attaleia, about twenty miles (35 kms) east of Pergamum and Philetaireia, situated somewhere close to Mt Ida, near Adramyttium, ought to illustrate also the limit of Pergamene land during this period. For a discussion of the two settlements and others, see Walbank (1981), 131–2; Allen (1983), 23 and n. 49.

[48] See the sources under 262 in *Attalus.org*.

[49] Allen (1983), 20–24 especially nn. 43 and 52. For the epigraphic evidence relating to Pitane, see Robert, L., *IG* xii Suppl. P. 48 no. 142.

[50] Note other Seleucid cities in close proximity to Pergamum at this time.

[51] Appian says that he was poisoned by Laodice (*Syr.*, 65), although she had left Antioch after the marriage of the king to Berenice. It is more likely that Antiochus, by then in his sixties, died of natural causes. Like Lysimachus, a late second marriage caused chaos in the ruling family.

[52] Justin compounds the confusion by calling Eumenes the king of Bithynia. The king of Bithynia at this time was Ziaelas (254–228), succeeded by his son Prusias I (228–182).

[53] Hansen (1947) used the similarly nondescript title of *princeps*, used more familiarly to describe the Roman emperors from Augustus to Diocletian.

[54] Andromachus had provided aid to Timoleon on his arrival from the Peloponnese in about 343 and, as a result, was protected by this alliance. Tyrants in other cities including Syracuse were exiled, killed or executed along with their families and supporters.

[55] It is notable that similar 'new kings' proclaimed their status after success in warfare: Agathocles and Hieron II in Syracuse, for example.

[56] Lycus was a common name for a river and this is likely to have been near the Pergamene settlement of Thyateira (near modern Akhisar) and hence at the head of the Caicus Valley, though this Lycus may have drained into the Hermus or Hyllus. Carseae is less likely to have been on the Lycus which drained into the Meander, since Attalus did not march that far south.

[57] Polybius refers to this as the 'plain of Apia', near Mt Pelecas, over which Attalus led his army to a river named the Megistus.

[58] Although Polybius (5.78.5) claims Attalus marched all the way to the Hellespont, since he was in Mysia when this mutiny broke out it is likely that the lands found for these 'Aegosagae' lay in the direction of the Hellespont rather than actually overlooking the Straits. But, again, the issue is how could Attalus assign land to these mercenaries in a region which was clearly beyond his own territory?

[59] On the existence and availability of a Pergamene fleet at this time, see the discussion in Allen (1983), 68. Elaia had become the harbour of Pergamum during this period.

[60] Achaeus was defeated in battle and besieged in Sardis and was finally lured out by a trick and then executed (Pol., 8.21.2–4).

Chapter Two

[1] Victory Monument of Attalus I excavated from the Temenos dedicated to the ruler cult on the acropolis at Pergamum, E. V. Hansen, 'The Great Victory Monument of Attalus I', *AJA* 41 (1937) 58.

[2] A. M. Eckstein, *Rome Enters the Greek East: From Anarchy to Hierarchy in the Hellenistic Mediterranean, 230–170 BC* (Oxford 2008), 8–9 and *passim*, especially 381, prior to the establishment of the first Roman hegemony and then empire in the eastern Mediterranean.

[3] He returned from wars with the Bactrian Greeks and the nascent Parthian state only a decade later to begin his latest war with Egypt.

[4] Hieron's death in 215 was followed by instability in Syracuse and rebellion from its alliance with Rome. The city was besieged for two years until sacked by the

Romans, but recovered quickly to become the seat of the provincial governor of the province of Sicily.

[5] See Allen (1983), 65–70 for an assessment of Attalus' relationship with Rome in the years 215–212.

[6] On the government of Aegina and the presence of an *epistates* who discharged both military and judicial duties, see Walbank (1981), 139.

[7] Strabo, 12.6.2–3: 'The Tectosages live in the lands near Greater Phrygia and Pessinus [which] has the largest market in that region. It has a temple dedicated to the Great Mother which is highly respected and called Agdistis.' The Magna Mater cult was associated with a number of mountains: Mt Ida on the border between the southern Troad and Aeolia, Mt Sipylus in the Hermus Valley in Lydia, and Mt Dindymon, a mountain either near Cyzicus or in the southern Troad or in Galatia/Phrygia close to Pessinus. The last is the most likely site. Galatia/Phrygia was so named since the region was called Phrygia prior to its occupation by Gallic tribes in the mid-third century BC. The sources regularly use both names, which can be the cause of confusion. Added to this is the region known as Hellespontine Phrygia, which abutted the Propontis (Sea of Marmara) and included such cities as Cyzicus.

[8] This was a high-profile commission consisting of the former consul M. Valerius Laevinus, an ex-praetor M. Caecilius Metellus, the *aedilicius* Ser. Sulpicius Galba, and the *quaestorii* Cn. Tremellius Flaccus and M. Valerius Falto. Its composition clearly shows the serious nature of the assignment and the extent to which the leadership at Rome viewed such matters. The cult statue's removal is unlikely to have been the original, since the cult centre remained at Pessinus; cf. the cult of Aesculapius at Epidaurus which was dispersed to Pergamum, Gortys and Rome.

[9] P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (cos. 191) was chosen to receive the Magna Mater (Liv., 29.14.8–10).

[10] Note Livy's slip at 26.24.9 where he gives Attalus the title 'king of Asia', possibly in confusion with the later province's name.

[11] At the aptly named 'Peace of Phoenice', the citizens of Ilium, Pergamum, Pleuratus, Sparta, Elis, Messene and Athens are described as being on the side of the Romans, while for Philip's side there was Bithynia, Achaea, Boeotia, Thessaly, Epirus and Acarnania (Liv., 29.12.14–15).

[12] Gelon of Syracuse had offered to help the Greeks against Xerxes in 481/0 provided he was given sole command of the campaign. When this was rejected by Athenians and Spartan envoys, they were sent away empty-handed. In the next century Dionysius of Syracuse had lent temporary military aid to the Spartans. Much more common was Greek interference in western affairs; the most notorious, of course, and the most recent for those states of the third century BC was Pyrrhus' intervention on behalf of Tarentum against Rome.

[13] Philip may not have been present in person, as Polybius seems to suggest (18.6). According to Polybius, the Macedonians marched as far east as Thyateira (16.1; Habicht [1989], 253).

[14] He had sent warships and troops to Euboea, but did not retain a presence there after Phoenice.

[15] It is worth remembering that Antigonus at Ipsus in 306 had been in his 70s, as were Seleucus and Lysimachus at Corupedium in 281. Attalus was following a well-worn tradition by 200.

[16] For Antiochus' activities in Asia between 205 and 202, see Habicht (1989), 250.

[17] Used by Plutarch in his life of Cato, either directly or via Livy.

[18] Perhaps the citizens of Pergamum were happy to rely on their strongly fortified position with presumably sufficient supplies to outlast a besieging army. Seleucus also may not have possessed a siege train and the end of the summer may have contributed to the lack of foraging available to the Seleucid troops and so made his withdrawal inevitable, whether or not Diophanes had been present. Meanwhile, Antiochus, who had been confined to Demetrias (Iolkos) in Thessaly, withdrew his forces by sea to Ephesus.

[19] Regillus had already occupied Phocaea, where the city had been plundered by his undisciplined forces (Liv., 37.32.8–14). Many of these harbour towns found themselves in a tricky situation, wanting to favour neither side but having to endure suppression from both. Thus also Teos, a city which also had close ties with Pergamum since the third century.

[20] Appian (*Syr.*, 6.29) has a curious error in his account, in which he claims that the Roman advance was to Sardis before the king became aware of it, and that the negotiations between Antiochus' envoy Heraclides and the Scipios took place there. However, later on (6.36) he has Antiochus retreating to Sardis from Magnesia ad Sipylum after his defeat by the consul. Sardis was clearly under the king's control until his defeat in the battle and Appian, his source, or a later copyist possibly intended to record either a city such as Sestos on the Hellespont (although this contradicts the claim that Antiochus fled back to Asia before the Romans entered Thrace) or Pergamum, particularly since Africanus is said to have gone from these talks to Elaia.

[21] It is claimed that Scipio Africanus advised the king privately to avoid combat before he was present with his brother the consul. Scipio's son had been captured and later released by the king. The information may be fanciful and generated by those jealous of Africanus' fame, especially since he was later charged with embezzling funds or receiving bribes from the Syrian monarch, charges he strenuously denied.

[22] Appian's information here is fairly accurate: from modern Manisa to Sardis is less than fifty miles (72 kms), the battle will have been concluded by late afternoon and a series of fresh horses will have got Antiochus from Magnesia to Sardis in about six hours or less.

[23] Antiochus had been required to withdraw to the east of the Taurus Mountains. See Allen (1983), 87 for a discussion of the settlement. Pamphylia, west of the Taurus, evidently later formed a part of the Pergamene kingdom where a city named Attaleia was founded probably in the 160s (Strabo, 12.7.3, 14.4.1, 667; Trogus, *Prol.*, 34; Allen [1983], 83). However, some of the cities there, such as Selge and Amlada in Lycia, remained hostile and probably did not accept Eumenes as their new overlord.

[24] See Allen's ([1983], 86) comments on the possessions of Attalus at his death in 197, and E. S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (Berkeley 1984) Volume 1.544: 'Eumenes […] inherited domains limited to a few insignificant towns. An exaggerated description […] but not altogether without foundation'.

[25] The Roman consul Cn. Manlius Vulso had led an army into Galatia and ravaged the countryside, supposedly returning with luxurious plunder which was

displayed in his subsequent triumph at Rome. Such luxuries, it was later claimed by writers such as Livy, were responsible for the decline of public morals. These luxuries were more likely bought with plunder in the markets of Ionia rather than taken from the Gallic tribes of the interior of Asia Minor.

[26] The Bithynian fleet was commanded by the Carthaginian exile Hannibal, but he committed suicide when the state made peace, since one of the terms of that pact was his handover to the Romans. For a brief account, see Magie (1950), 314–15.

[27] For a recent discussion of the war, see C. Habicht, *The Hellenistic Monarchies* (Ann Arbor 2006), 1–12.

[28] It is said that Eumenes was displeased with his brother Attalus, who believed early reports of the king's death and who had taken somewhat premature actions to secure the kingship at Pergamum for himself. As it turned out, Eumenes was to reign for over another decade.

[29] He is noted as being present at a council with the consul of 171 P. Licinius Crassus along with his brother Attalus (Liv., 42.57.4), to the rear of an engagement early in the war again in 171 (42.48.14) and used on the flanks during a march (52.55.14).

[30] In the early part of 168 Eumenes was in command of a small naval force in the Aegean (Liv., 44.29.1–2) and is also placed at Thessalonica with a garrison of about 2,000 troops (44.32.6), but there is no record of him being present in the campaign which led up to Pydna nor in the battle itself, all in all a little strange for one who had been so prominent an ally. It may be that the stories of his contact with Perseus were treated as being credible by the Roman commander L. Aemilius Paullus (cos. II 168).

[31] Perseus apparently also sent letters to Antiochus IV Epiphanes of Syria with no tangible result.

[32] Rhodes, which had been an ally of Rome for thirty years, was also considered to have wavered in its allegiance and paid a severe penalty, losing both its mainland possessions in Lycia and having future competition from Delos, which was established by Rome as a free port in the Aegean.

[33] P. Licinius Crassus, consul in 171, was sent to Asia Minor. True, he was a single delegate and not a member of a commission, which might arguably have had more impact, but his visit would have provoked much interest because of his seniority (*MRR.*, 1.435).

[34] Allen ([1983], 142), with references to the sources, argues that Crassus went to Smyrna, and (n. 18) that the Pergamene legation was in Rome in 168, but that the Romans were keen to limit Eumenes' room for manoeuvre, though that was clearly not imposed at all, or at least our somewhat limited sources are silent on the subsequent events.

[35] Allen ([1983], 142–4 and n. 19) notes a possible trophy celebrating Eumenes' campaign, that other epigraphic evidence shows Pergamene control of centres such as Pessinus, and that Prusias of Bithynia complained to the senate about Pergamum's presence in Galatia, but again no punitive action was taken against Eumenes.

[36] He had however successfully led Pergamene forces against the Galatians in the mid–180s and later served part of the time in the Third Macedonian War.

[37] See, for example, Habicht (1989), 373–4 and Attalus' letter to the priest of the Magna Mater at Pessinus.

[38] Bithynia was certainly not an insignificant power, but for much of this period Prusias II clearly had far less influence with Rome than Pergamum, as can be seen in the acquiescence of the Romans in his overthrow in 149.

[39] Demetrius' escape from captivity in Rome in 162 is recounted by Polybius (31.11–15). His subsequent coup against Antiochus V appears to have been accomplished without outside help, although the Roman senate's inactivity in ordering a pursuit of Demetrius implies approval. The later frigid relations between Rome and Syria more likely stem from Demetrius' aggressive foreign policy.

[40] In Cappadocia, the rivalry was between Ariarathes VI and the pretender Orophernes. Ptolemy VI Philometor regained Cyprus quickly but he then cooperated with Attalus in promoting further instability in Syria. For the sources, see Habicht (1989), 361–2.

[41] Antiochus IV had died in 164 and been succeeded by his young son Antiochus V, who was murdered when Demrtius took power in 162. Balas was cast as a younger brother of Antiochus V.

[42] The sole Seleucid king to do so.

[43] Allen (1983), 132.

[44] Prusias has a negative press from the ancient sources and this has been perpetuated in modern scholarship; for example, Magie ([1950], 314) states that 'his coins show a sensuous face that is perhaps not repulsive but certainly weak and vicious', although his actions in the 150s illustrate another side to the king. That he governed for over thirty years indicates a certain guile and finesse.

[45] Appian says that Niccephorium was a χωρίον, which might mean a fortress or fortified position. This would still apply to the hill on which the Pergamene Nicephorium was situated just outside the city walls. No city with this name is attested in Pergamum. Habicht ([1989], 360) takes Nicephorium to mean the altar and shrine at Pergamum.

[46] The three envoys have become notorious on account of an observation made by the elder Cato that one was scarred on the head from a wound received by a stone, another suffered from gout, while the third was regarded as an imbecile, hence 'the legation had no sense, no feet and no head'.

[47] Habicht (1989), 357. Attalus' interest in the spoils from this war was duly noted by writers in antiquity (Pliny, *NH.*, 35.24).

[48] Note that Strabo believed that he was an ally of Demetrius I against Alexander Balas and perhaps some fictional account of Attalus' involvement had existed.

[49] Galen speaks particularly positively of Attalus, a figure he presumably identified as interested in similar medical cures to himself.

[50] Posidonius from Lydia wrote a history which covered the period 146 to 88 and would certainly appear to be a good source for hostile comments about the last Attalid. Theophanes from Lesbos was also a native of that part of Asia Minor; his history recorded the exploits of Pompey in the East, but that too would have allowed for the inclusion of material about Attalus III in a work designed to enhance the stature of its subject. Diodorus, although a Sicilian by birth, spent much of his adult life in Rome.

Chapter Three

[1] Ephesus is regarded as the chief city of the province of Roman Asia, but this position probably only came about during the course of the first century, and the fact that Mithridates VI of Pontus, C. Flavius Fimbria and others appear based at Pergamum suggests that for some time the government of the province remained here. F. Santangelo, *Sulla, The Elites and the Empire* (Leiden 2007), 107–8, attributes the rise of Ephesus to provincial eminence to Sulla, but this switch could well be rather later. We are not informed about Lucullus' base in the Third Mithridatic War. Pompey does not appear to have spent a great deal of time in either Pergamum or Ephesus. Therefore, Ephesus' metamorphosis may in fact be quite a late event related to the period of the civil wars in the 40s and the 30s. Indeed, the freedom of action attributed to Mithridates in his support and aid to Caesar in 48 suggests that he was able to act as *de facto* ruler of Asia, probably in the absence of any official Roman appointment. That he came from Pergamum also suggests that the city was still regarded as the senior *polis* in the region. For inscriptions honouring Mithridates, see Sherk (1984), 101–2, and further below in Chapter 4.

[2] Santangelo (2007), 109: 'Pergamum [...] kept a prominent role in the later history of the Roman province.' Hansen ([1947], 165) lists no fewer than another dozen cities of considerable substance within the kingdom as recognized by Rome after the battle of Magnesia in 189: Apollonis, Attaleia, Cyme, Elaia, Myrina, Philetaireia, Phocaea, Stratoniceia, Telmessus, Thyateira, Tralles; and that does not include the island of Aegina which Attalus I obtained in about 209, or Andros that he won from Philip V in 199 (Allen [1983], 74). See also Appendix 4. These presumably passed to the provincial jurisdiction of Achaea after 133/29. However Aegina was given to Athens in the aftermath of Philippi in 42/1 (App. *B.C.*, 5.7).

[3] Strabo (13.4.2) says that the cause of death was disease while Justin (36.3.5) proffers the result of sunstroke. Considering the unique circumstances, it is not remarkable that the will should be mentioned frequently (Livy, *Per.*, 58; Greenidge & Clay [1960], 11; Sherk [1984], 39), although its actual contents are not fully related by any ancient writer. That this monarch was hated by his subjects, see Diodorus, 34/35.3; App. *B.C.*, 5.4, and further in Chapter 4.

[4] Habicht (1989), 324: 'The territories Eumenes and Rhodes received were unequivocally a gift, a gift from Rome, which implied an expectation that both powers would act as guarantors of the new order and that both would prevent any development disturbing to Rome.'

[5] Unlike to the citizens of Pergamum, the bequest may not have been known to the Romans before the envoy Eudemeus arrived, although this may seem remarkable to us. That the senate did nothing may suggest prior information or simply paralysis because of the Gracchan crisis. Besides, Attalus was still young, born only in about 168, hence thirty-five at his death (Allen [1983], 181). Plutarch (*Ti. Gracch.*, 14.1–2) states that Eudemus carried the late king's papers containing directions for the disposal of his kingdom to Rome. Gracchus is said to have immediately considered this new source of wealth an aid to his plans to allocate plots to landless citizens. He also apparently claimed that the future

status and revenues from any cities named in this will could not be decided by discretion of the senate and proposed that the people should enact a law to oversee such supervision. However, the source of such revenue would have been rather complex to ascertain, since many of the cities were to be exempt from tribute, although Gracchus may have thought otherwise, while rural areas probably did not produce that much, certainly in terms of coinage. Gracchus may have had his eye on the king's personal treasure, but even that would not easily be released without scrutiny and recording a process which would hardly have been immediate. As it was, the rebellion must have delayed any revenues from the new province for several years, and the Gracchan land commission set up by the *lex agraria* of 133 can hardly have benefited much, if at all, from this income. The arrival of the envoy from Pergamum also caused a stir for other reasons, since a visit or stay with Gracchus was said to have taken a more sinister turn, as Q. Pompeius (cos. 140) claimed that Eudemus had offered royal insignia to Gracchus in the belief that he would shortly be king in Rome. This accusation was used as propaganda against Gracchus and caused tempers to be lost which resulted in the tribune's murder.

[6] Livy, Books 58–9, and Dio, Book 24, who probably used the former, would both have given extensive coverage to the events of 133 and afterwards, but neither account survives except for a brief summary of Livy and a rhetorical fragment of the latter.

[7] See *OGIS* 338 (Pergamum) for the will = *Sources for Roman History*, A. H. J. Greenidge & A. M. Clay (Oxford 1960), 11–12.

[8] It should be noted that Ptolemy Euergetes (II) made known his intention to leave Cyrene to the Romans as early as 155, but this will became obsolete when he was recognized as king of Egypt in 145. Cyrene was bequeathed again to the Romans after the death of Ptolemy Apion in 96 but it was left an independent region until incorporated as a province in 74, twenty years later (Lampela [1998], 228). This suggests that the Roman government was not keen to have new administrative areas under its direct control and perhaps reflects hesitation in accepting another testamentary possession after the trying experience of the former Pergamene kingdom. Moreover, the conclusion of the wars with the Germanic tribes, Cimbri and Teutones, in southern Gaul and northern Italy in 102/1 was followed by fierce fighting in Iberia during the decade following Ptolemy Apion's bequest between the Romans and Celtiberians, a situation which probably also caused considerable unease about further territorial expansion at that time. Then the Social War and subsequent civil unrest and war with Mithridates intervened and Cyrene was left under only hegemonial and indirect supervision. Interestingly, the mid–70s were barely less troubled than before, with continued warfare in Iberia and Asia Minor. Still, the prevarication of the senate when it came to 'peaceful' annexation is quite remarkable when Cilicia in 102 and Cyprus and Egypt in the early 50s is added to the debate.

[9] Mattingly (1985), 117–19 considers November/December 132 possible, but that a date is clearly indicated on the document to be after August.

[10] For the text, see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950), Vol. 1.33 and Vol. 2.1033–34; Greenidge & Clay (1960), 12; T. Drew-Bear, *Historia* 21 (1972), 75–87; C. Delpace, *Athenaeum* 56 (1978), 28–33, and R. K. Sherk, *Rome*

and the Greek East to the Death of Augustus (Cambridge 1984), 40–1. P. Popillius Laenas (cos. 132) consulted the senate perhaps rather late in the year about the provisions of Attalus' will (E. Badian, 'Review of J. Hopp, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der letzten Attaliden*', *JRS* 70 [1980], 202; H. B. Mattingly, 'Scipio Aemilianus and the Legacy of Attalus III', *LCM* 10 [1985], 117–19; Santangelo [2007], 109 and n. 11 for further references).

[11] Plutarch (*Flam.*, 21.6) evidently believed that he was the son of a female musician or courtesan with no mention of the father; Livy, *Per.* 59; Strabo, 14.1.38; Diod. 34.2.26; while Justin (36.4.6) names the mother as Ephesia – presumably of that city – and the father as Eumenes II. By the time of the triumph of Aquillius in 126 in which Aristonicus was paraded and subsequently executed, he would have been displayed as a member of the Attalid family in order to enhance the *Gloria* of the victor, but his real background remains obscure and perhaps it really was.

[12] In the area of Abbaitis between Mysia and Hellespontine Phrygia, Sherk (1984), 44 n. 2; Magie (1950), 1.147–54.

[13] Other cities showing complete indifference included Sardis and Apamea in the former Persian and Seleucid satrapy of Lydia, which suggests that the rebellion was confined mostly to the more central parts of the Pergamum where there was a high percentage of former mercenaries who had been given lands.

[14] It is possible that he had supporters at Myndos, although that city was hardly a major centre, while the island of Samos, although not far off the Ionian coast, was easily isolated from supporting a rebellion on the mainland of Asia Minor. Subversive elements in both places could have been suppressed quickly.

[15] It is a notable mistake, since Crassus Mucianus was a politician of considerable stature and was closely connected with Tiberius Gracchus, which cannot have been unknown to Florus or his source. Careless transmission is evident here. Colophon is noted by Strabo (14.1.28) as a town with citizens who possessed a warlike temperament, perhaps therefore their attachment to a rebel, but a sizeable part of the citizen body may have been ex-mercenaries. Scipio Aemilianus, although not a magistrate was, according to Cicero (*Phil.*, 11.18), keen to obtain this command, which was voted to Crassus Mucianus instead, Mattingly (1985), 117.

[16] Aquillius returned to Rome in the second half of 126, when he celebrated a triumph, after which Aristonicus, a prisoner for three years, was executed on the Capitoline Hill. For Aquillius' consulship and proconsular command, see Broughton (1951), 1.505–9.

[17] *Cistophoroi* minted at Thyateira contain the legend *Basileus Eumenes* dated to 132, while others produced at Apollonis give a regnal date of 'Three', hence refer to 131 (Greenidge & Clay [1960], 284). The fact that this coinage consists of tetradrachms points to extensive military expenditure provided by a competent mint in both these centres. The dates also suggest that these cities may have held out after the capture of Aristonicus and that they were forced into submission by Aquillius only by his infamous siege tactics.

[18] For a translation of the text see Sherk (1984), 39–40; the text, Magie (1950), 1.147–150, 2.1035 and n. 5; T. R. S. Broughton, 'Roman Asia Minor' in T. Frank (ed.), *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore 1938), 4.505–11. The date is considered to be 133 but perhaps makes better sense in 132 or later still as

an enticement to stop fighting. The Romans were to offer the same sort of inducement to the Italian allies in the Social War (91–89).

[19] For his funerary monument discovered at Pergamum, *ILS* 8886; Greenidge & Clay (1960), 16.

[20] See Santangelo (2007), 108 and n. 8, following Dimitriev (2005), 7. It should be noted that in a far more hostile environment and with consuls far from sympathetic, Brutus and Cassius, following the murder of Caesar in March 44, left Italy for more secure places overseas only after the middle of August (M. L. Clarke, *The Noblest Roman: Marcus Brutus and His Reputation* [London 1981], 45–7). Nasica was in a far more sheltered position than either Brutus or Cassius.

[21] Nasica is assumed to have been a member or leader of this commission appointed in order that his departure from Rome did not appear undignified. The other members are unattested and may not even have been senators.

[22] Mercenaries had been settled at Philetaireia and Attaleia by Eumenes I (Allen [1983), 22–3). Thyateira had received colonists, probably ex-mercenaries by Attalus I (Allen [1983], 61–2). Apollonis and Stratoniceia, as their names suggest, were foundations of the kings and close to Thyateira, and also probably drew their community – partially at least – from ex-professional soldiers.

[23] It is as well to remember that Catiline in 63 gained much support from former army veterans in Etruria either unhappy with their grants of land or impoverished because of debts accumulated after they had possessed their allotments.

[24] The wider implications may be judged from aid provided by the city of Bargylia in Caria dated to 129 (Sherk [1984], 43–4), which might indicate that the unrest even in that year was still quite widespread.

[25] An inscription excavated near Elaia celebrates friendship between Pergamum and Rome and is dated to about the same year as Aquillius' arrival in the new province (Sherk [1984], 43–4).

[26] Crawford (1978), 120. See also Diod., 34–35.25.

[27] Badian (1968), 48.

[28] For the text of the decree discovered at Smyrna and Adramyttium and the often quite contentious discussions of its content and date, see, for example, Greenidge & Clay [1960], 278, dated under 129; *MRR*, 1.496–7 and 3.23–5; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1945/50), 1045 and n. 34; R. K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East: Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus* (Baltimore 1969), no 12, 63–73; A. Passerini, *Athenaeum* 15 (1937), 252–71; H. B, Mattingly, 'The Date of the Senatus Consultum *de agro Pergameno*' *AJP* 93 (1972), 412–23; G. Petzel, 'Reste eines ephesischen Exemplars des Senatusconsultum de agro Pergameno (Sherk, *Roman Documents* Nr. 12)' *EA* 6 (1985), 70–1; G. Petzel, *Inschriften griechisher Städte aus Kleinasien*, 24.1: *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, 2.1 (Bonn 1987), 52–3, 61–4; Evans (1994), 195–206.

[29] Sherk (1984), 47–8. The inscription consisting of fragments, some more substantial than others, unfortunately gives only the ending of possibly one of the consul's name 'nius', while in another section 'uillius' appears to indicate a current consul.

[30] The council was based on the ancient *koinon* or council of the Ionian League cities but obviously extended to include all the cities of the province. The practice was adopted by the other provinces in the empire.

[31] The two copies of the senate decree which have been excavated were from Adramyttium and Smyrna. To have the decree inscribed and erected in a public place such as an agora or prominent temple would have taken considerable time and such copies were probably circulated over a number of years after the decree became law. These may have appeared in the mid–90s just when controversy between provincials and *publicani* reached new levels, which resulted in the appointment as proconsul of Q. Mucius Scaevola (pr. 98, cos. 95) with a mandate to attempt to reduce tensions. For discussion of the decree, see Sherk (1984), 45–6.

[32] One would dearly like to know the thinking behind the naming of the new province and whether there was any (it would have been quite unlike the Romans if there was any irony in the choice of the title), or merely that it was the first Roman land in Asia. There were certainly a number of other suitable names besides Pergamum: Aeolia, Mysia, Lydia, Ionia, and Phrygia which was utilized in the Byzantine period. The choice of Achaea as the name for a province consisting of much of the Greek mainland no doubt surprised many of the Greek communities. On the other hand, many of the Aegean islands came under the jurisdiction of Asia eventually. It should be noted that there was perhaps a developing formula in practice since Carthage became Africa, Hellas became Achaea, the Spanish *provinciae* not Iberia but Hispania. There may have been a conscious move away from utilizing existing nomenclature to ones purely Latin rather than Greek, although that would still not fully explain Asia. Another possibility is a deliberate departure from using the names of *poleis* for those based on geography. Notably Egypt (*Aegyptus*) is simply a transliteration of the Greek, as indeed is Sicilia. So perhaps there was, in fact, no particular philosophy behind the naming of the provinces! It is worth noting that milestones bearing the name of Aquillius, the first proconsul of Asia, extend to at least 223 in a south-easterly direction probably starting at Elaia or Pergamum, which thus presents a provincial boundary in southern Lydia at a junction with Pisidia (*CIL*, 3.7177, 7183; *ILLRP*, 455, 456; Sherk [1984], 43).

[33] The closest military events to Asia Minor at this time were in Thrace. Elsewhere the Romans encountered a dogged enemy in Jugurtha, and frighteningly formidable foes in the Celtiberians in Iberia and the German tribes who migrated into Roman lands, causing havoc until defeated by Gaius Marius in 102 and 101 BC.

[34] The transfer of this territory back to Roman, which was commemorated on an inscription of much later date (Sherk [1984], 53–4), caused Apamea in Phrygia, an important city of the Seleucid kingdom and then governed by Pergamum after 189, to become a city in the province of Asia.

[35] Galatia was allied to Pergamum, although relations between Prusias I of Bithynia and Eumenes II were frigid at best. Prusias again lost out to Eumenes, for the Romans well remembered that he had been a willing ally to Antiochus III in the 190s.

[36] Ariarathes V had been expelled from his kingdom by a certain Orophernes – the name suggests a Persian origin – in 157 but had been restored soon after with aid from Attalus II of Pergamum (Pol., 3.5.2).

[37] His praetorship has been dated variously from 97 to 93. Broughton (*MRR*, 2.14) has the last date. Here it seems at least possible that a later date makes more sense in the context of rapidly declining relations between Rome and Pontus.

[38] This notorious affair is related by Appian (*Mith.*, 3.21): molten gold was poured down Aquillius' throat as punishment for his own and Roman avarice.

[39] Rutilius Rufus had remained in Asia after the departure of the consul and continued to force through reforms in the collection of the tribute. For this action he gained universal local acclaim but, hurting the profits of Roman and Italian businessmen or *negotiatores*, he acquired some powerful enemies, who saw to it that he was accused of extortion on his return to Rome. His conviction by a bribed jury and exile in Smyrna among the Greeks who were supposed to have been his victims became a celebrated case in Roman legal history and pointed the way towards eventual jury reform. Broughton (*MRR*, 2.7–8) considers that Scaevola went to Asia after a praetorship in 98, and that Rutilius Rufus remained there for the early part of 97 but was not prosecuted until 92, which seems unlikely.

[40] On Scaevola and his proconsulship, see E. Badian, *Studies in Greek and Roman History* (Oxford 1964), 43–4, 86, who argued for 94 rather than 95 the year of his consulship (*OCD*^{2}, 957). The argument is clearly unjustified since the consuls took office on January 1st and seldom left for provinces before the end of spring, April at the earliest. Scaevola and his colleague L. Licinius Crassus passed a law expelling illegal residents from the city, but this is easily accommodated at the start of their consulship. If Asia was in such disarray, then the departure of a consul rather than an ex-consul is fully explicable. It should be noted that T. Didius was consul in 98 and also held a command in Hispania Citerior while P. Licinius Crassus (cos. 97) was governor of Hispania Ulterior as consul (R. J. Evans, 'Gaius and Marcus Marius in Iberia and Gaul: Family Affairs and Provincial Clients,' *Acta* Classica 50 [2008], 82–4).

[41] Appian has far more detail than Plutarch and probably gives a fair idea of the coverage of Livy who was probably his main source, although the ultimate source may be Theophanes of Mytilene or Sulla himself. Sulla may have been at Ephesus though he is also said to have spent time at Samothrace.

[42] Not fully accurate by any means. Aristonicus, as noted above, is said not to have drawn much support from the main urban centres of Asia, and certainly not from Ephesus.

[43] Note Dionysius' instructions regarding an attack on the Punic residents of Syracuse and elsewhere in Sicily, and the confiscation of their property as a prelude to war against Carthage in 398/7 (Diod., 14.46.1–4). Memnon (22.9) and Valerius Maximus (9.2. ext. 3) state that 80,000 Italians were killed; the other sources, Livy and Appian, only that large numbers were killed on a single day specified by Mithridates in letters he sent to the various communities. How these orders remained secret and took these foreign residents by surprise is, however, not disclosed. Plutarch (*Sull.*, 24.4) says that 150,00 were killed but this is a clear exaggeration of the total, presumably gleaned directly from Sulla's own account.

[44] The Epitome of Livy (*Per.*, 68), probably a fair reflection of the original, claims that Antonius followed the pirates to their bases in Cilicia and that they were destroyed (*Obsequens*, 44). This is a rather optimistic take on the actual state of affairs. However, Rhodes appears to have been relatively quiet at this time, although by then it had become something of a backwater in economic and military terms (Liv. *Per.*, 69). The *lex de piratis* dated to 101/100 found on

inscriptions at Delphi, and more particularly Cnidos in Caria, clearly reflects grave concerns about the problem, with specific mention of Pamphylia and Lycaonia, Asia, Macedonia, the Bosporus area and Cilicia (Sherk [1984], 59–66). The law, not exclusively about piracy but wide-ranging in its focus on the duties and functions of proconsuls in this region, illustrates attempts to regulate Roman provincial administration in the eastern Mediterranean. For discussion of the law, see Evans (1994), 111–15, with reference to other studies, notably M. Hassall, M. H. Crawford, J. M. Reynolds, 'Rome and the Eastern Provinces at the End of the Second Century B.C.' *JRS* 64 (1974), 195–220.

[45] Allen ([1983], 120–1) suggests that economic uncertainties provoked the Milesians into honouring Eumenes II by granting him cult status in order to attract not only Pergamene wealth via patronage but also maintain friendly ties, since Miletus was at that stage independent of the kingdom. Note that an inscription celebrating the cult of Roma, significantly dated to about 130 (Sherk [1984], 41–2) may have been prompted by the same motive in the hope that the new ruling state would provide financial aid to improve the port facilities of the city, or at least to help alleviate the constant problem of silting.

[46] It remains so today (2011) see Plate 1.

[47] Plutarch (*Them.*, 31) also notes that Magnesia – by which he means Magnesia ad Meandrum – was assigned to Themistocles by Xerxes.

[48] Similarly in the Troad, both Ilium (Troy) and Alexandria Troas are now well inland from the sea, though in antiquity both had accessible harbours.

[49] For the instability in Syria between 116 and 96/5, see App. *Syr.*, 11.69; Bevan (1902), 2.250–59.

[50] C. Cato was later charged with extortion and fined (*MRR*, 1.533). His conviction was probably not regarded as sufficient for his actions, since he was later condemned and exiled under the Mamilian Law of 109 (*MRR.,* 1.546; Evans [1994], 61 and n. 37). A relative, M. Porcius Cato (cos.118) had earlier in his career passed a law regulating interest rates. Since he died in his consulship, this measure probably dates to the 120s and may indicate early concerns about excessive taxation of provincials (*MRR*, 1.527; Malcovati, *FOR*,Volume 2.22 and 118).

[51] The Scordisci were defeated by C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius (cos. 113), M. Livius Drusus (cos. 112) and Q. Minucius Rufus (cos. 110), the last of whom celebrated a triumph over this tribe in 108 (Liv. *Per.*, 63, 65).

[52] Gold staters were issued at Pergamum with the head of Mithridates on the obverse (Greenidge & Clay [1960], 284–5).

[53] Appian gives detailed coverage of the sack of Ilium, the extent of which is probably mostly ancient propaganda derived from Sulla's memoirs in which Fimbria, an opponent of the author, was surely denigrated. He also passes over the capture of Pergamum in silence. There are two possibilities here, since it clearly featured in Livy's account: first, that Sulla downplayed almost to nothing Fimbria's triumph in taking this supposedly impregnable fortress; and second, that it was still a lesser episode than the sack of Ilium, which may point to a withdrawal by Mithridates' forces and a more orderly transition back to Roman rule. Moreover, the reference to Pergamum could conceivably mean the former kingdom rather than merely the city, and that the king of Pontus was actively on

campaign, as he seems usually to have been, rather than occupying a sedentary role as suggested by the account in the Epitome to Livy.

[54] Sulla had campaigned successfully in Greece between 88 and 86, but had been declared a *hostis* by the government in Rome dominated then by his political enemies led by L. Cornelius Cinna (cos. 87). The senate therefore had despatched a new commander, the consul L. Valerius Flaccus, to undertake the war against Mithridates and he had gone directly to Asia, landing near the Hellespont. Soon afterwards he had been murdered by his legate, C. Flavius Fimbria, who assumed command of the army and had notable successes.

[55] Mithridates' ally in Athens, Aristion, had been captured when that city had fallen after a protracted siege and had been sacked by Sulla's troops. Moreover, his generals, Archelaus and Dorylaus, had been defeated at Chaeronea and Orchomenus (App. *Mith.*, 6.42–5, 7.49–50).

[56] Chios was an independent *polis* but geographically close to Asia. It had incurred the suspicions of the king when a Chian trireme had rammed his own vessel during his attack on Rhodes (App. *Mith.*, 4.25, 7.46). He was probably also concerned that this important island state was about to change its allegiance back to Rome. Punishing its citizens was meant to provide an example.

[57] Appian (7.48) states that he was father-in-law of the king who had married his daughter Monima.

[58] Appian gives a figure of 1,600 for those killed in these purges but it is not mentioned by other sources.

[59] Fimbria's sack of Ilium is related by Appian (*Mith.*, 8.53) and this account reflects poorly on the commander, where elsewhere there is a more positive view of his actions. The destruction at this city may have been because of its contacts with Sulla, who was still in Greece, or it may be that Fimbria intended that an example should be made here in order to ease his progress south. Ilium, in a similar fashion to the other Greek cities, had not been slow to change its allegiance to Mithridates in 88.

[60] For the sources, see Greenidge & Clay (1960), 185, the earliest of which is Diod., 38.8.1. From Dio, fr. 104.1, it appears that the Flaccus had avoided all contact with Sulla and had headed for Byzantium. Some troops who had been directed overland from Dyrrachium (Epidamnus) or Apollonia through Macedonia had defected to Sulla. Flaccus was killed at Nicomedia (App. *Mith.*, 8.52). Plutarch (*Sull.*, 23) suggests that Flaccus actually marched through Macedonia and that Sulla went north from Boeotia to intercept him, but was forced to return south when he heard that a new army from Pontus had landed at Chalcis in Euboea. Only after he defeated this force at Orchomenus was he able to advance his own army to the Hellespont, by which time Flaccus had been murdered. From the Bosporus, Fimbria's route would have been along the coast of the Propontis through Bithynia towards the Troad.

[61] Coinage issued in Fimbria's name with the legend 'I]MPER[erator' in tetradrachms – the high denomination suggests payment of troops, as does the legend – with the characteristic *cistophoros* of Pergamum on the obverse indicates that the commander was present in the city for some time (Greenidge & Clay [1960], 286).

[62] However influential Sulla's *Memoirs* were in the later historiography, Fimbria's successful campaigns were well remembered by writers from Livy to Orosius, as Greenidge & Clay ([1960], 185–7) indicate.

[63] Ultimately this could well have been Theophanes of Mytilene, who wrote an account of Pompey's campaigns in which he would presumably have denigrated the war efforts of Sulla and his friend Lucullus while focusing positively on any figure who was inimical to the former dictator. Flaccus' death in Appian's account is clearly made to appear entirely justifiable on account of the consul's quite unreasonable behaviour (*Mith.*, 8.51–2).

[64] On his return to Italy in 84, Plutarch says that Sulla had 1,200 ships at his disposal to transport his army from Dyrrachium (Epidamnus) to Brundisium (*Sull.*, 27). Lucullus procured a fleet for Sulla during the course of 85 from various states in the Levant sufficient at least to transport Sulla's army across the Hellespont at the usual crossing place between Sestus and Abydus. It would be interesting to know by which route Mithridates was able to proceed from Lesbos, either in returning to Pontus, or where along the coast or on which islands he was welcomed. This was prior to his meeting with Sulla at Dardanus when the Pontic king evidently arrived overland, although also with a well-armed fleet in tandem (Plut. *Sull.*, 24). Again, sadly, there is no indication of where the king set out from. Much of Bithynia had been in his hands, but by the 'Peace of Dardanus' he had to relinquish the kingdom to its former ruler, Nicomedes. Even before this, Flaccus and Fimbria appear to have been in possession of Chalcedon and Nicomedia. Ariobarzanes was also restored to his kingdom of Cappadocia.

[65] Aurelius Victor (*de Vir. Ill.*, 70), probably derived from Livy, explicitly notes Pergamum as Fimbria's base: (Fimbria) 'a Sylla Pergami obsessus.' Not noted in the summary of Livy, *Per.* 83 or other sources, however (Greenidge & Clay [1960], 188–9).

[66] Fimbria's troops may have been successfully bribed away from their commander, but that act of betrayal was not forgiven or forgotten by either Sulla or any subsequent commander in the region, who never trusted these men with any important task. These legionaries were kept under arms as a punishment for their sacrilege until any survivors returned with Pompey to Italy in 61.

[67] App. *Mith.*, 9.63.

[68] Murena's title is perhaps irrelevant, in that he had probably been a praetor in 89 (cf. *MRR*, 2.40 for 88, although this cannot have been possible) before joining Sulla's staff as a legate. His position in 84 was, in any case, completely illegal and his subsequent triumph (*MRR*, 2.77 for 81) the gift of his former commander, who by then was in sole control of affairs at Rome.

[69] Appian (*Mith.*, 11.75) appears to place these events in the winter of 74–73 and names Eumachus as the general of Mithridates who did a great deal of damage until defeated and driven back by Deiotarus, the Galatian tetrarch.

[70] Pompey was in Cilicia when he heard the news of his appointment to the command against Mithridates in 66 (App. *Mith.*, 15.97; Plut. *Pomp.*, 30).

[71] Although Appian does not specify the city, the citizens of Magnesia ad Sipylum were honoured by Rome in the aftermath of the war. The fate of Magnesia in the Meander Valley which was situated close to Ephesus is not recorded, but it probably did not withstand the Pontic onslaught.

[72] For the choice of denomination and the reason for this relating to a shortage of available silver, see M. H. Crawford, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic* (London 1985), 158–60.

[73] Crawford ([1985], 159) notes that there was clearly a strong element of central control since Tralles also issued all the small change for the kingdom (cf. R. A. G. Carson, *Coins of Greece and Rome* [London 1962], 7, for mints also at Thyateira and Stratoniceia in Pergamum) and considers that a mint existed at Sardis in the second century, and at Nyasa in the first century. Several cities including Magnesia ad Sipylum issued low-denomination bronze coins. Ephesus began minting *cistophoroi* by about 200; from the death of Attalus III it continued to issue coinage but on a new dating system beginning with the first year of the city's new status as 'free' in 134/3 (A. Meadows, 'Money, Freedom, and Empire in the Hellenistic World', in *Money and its Uses in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. A. Meadows & K. Shipton [Oxford 2001], 58).

[74] Crawford (1985), 200.

[75] Crawford (1985), 206–9. For Lentulus Spinther, see *MRR*, 2.210, 3.69; Claudius Pulcher, *MRR*, 3.57; Cicero, *MRR*, 2.251; and Metellus Pius Scipio, *MRR*, 2.260–61.

[76] Hassall, Crawford, Reynolds (1974), 220; Sherk (1984), 89–92 (Termessus), 121 (Ilium).

[77] C. Scribonius Curio, tribune in 50 and an influential supporter of Caesar in the civil war against Pompey, served as quaestor and proquaestor in Asia between 55 and 53/52, as evidence from an inscription at Caunus in Caria shows (*MRR*, 3.186; cf. 209 for his return to Rome in 53).

[78] Crawford (1985), 252.

[79] For the honours granted to Pompey during this period and celebrated on stone, see Sherk (1984), 95–6, in cities such as Magnesia ad Sipylum and Miletus and probably illustrating, in part, relief at the return to peaceful conditions, but also the jockeying to win the victors' favour to avoid being saddled with too excessive future tribute burdens.

[80] M. Licinius Crassus (cos. II 55) moved to the East in 54 in order to lead an attack on Parthia. Not only were his ambitions to emulate the victories of Pompey and Caesar thwarted, but he was outsmarted in the desert of northern Mesopotamia and defeated with heavy losses at Carrhae, where he was afterwards murdered while negotiating a truce with the enemy.

[81] Cicero never celebrated his triumph, since the civil war between Caesar and Pompey intervened in early 49.

[82] This mention of Pergamum again suggests that it was still regarded as the chief city of Asia, even if Metellus Scipio set sail to Macedonia from Ephesus. Elaia by this time was either increasingly affected by silt from the Caicus or was simply not large enough for use by the often much larger military vessels of this time. The port does not feature in the sources after the Treaty of Apamea which ended the war with Antiochus III and which granted Ephesus to the kingdom of Pergamum, with its much more lucrative and extensive harbour facilities.

[83] Caesar is mainly concerned about heaping abuse on Metellus Scipio, whom he disliked intensely, so the element of invective and propaganda should be recognized here. Still, Asia as a whole will have suffered from the financial demands made on it.

[84] Plutarch states that, although invited to enter Mytilene, Pompey chose not to and advised the citizens of the city to submit to Caesar, and so avoid retribution for having taken the losing side in the war (*Pomp.* 74.1).

[85] Caesar also mentions a temple to Nike at Tralles. These supernatural events had clearly been reported to him while he was at Ephesus. The first occasion on which Caesar claimed to have saved the treasury of Artemis was earlier in the same year when the proconsul of Asia, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, had intended removing the funds, but had left for Thessaly following an urgent request from Pompey as Caesar's forces moved east (*BC*, 3.33). T. Ampius Balbus (pr. 59) had probably been left in charge of the province by Metellus Pius Scipio.

[86] It was probably because of Mithridates' timely support that Caesar honoured Pergamum, and this gesture was reciprocated (Sherk [1984], 79–80).

[87] Pharnaces III was the son of Mithridates VI of Pontus, and in the process of occupying what he considered his ancestral lands he defeated Cn. Domitius Calvinus (cos. 53), who had plainly been left in command of affairs in the region when Caesar sailed to Egypt. Although listed here (Appendix 2) as proconsul of Asia, he was clearly acting in a quasi-official capacity, appointed by Caesar but not ratified by the senate. The parallel is with L. Licinius Murena in 84, appointed as governor of Asia by Sulla in much the same situation. The legal position would have been solved in both instances once Sulla and Caesar became the government. Calvinus was evidently lacked a substantial force if he could be defeated by Pharnaces.

[88] The comment was, of course, 'veni, vidi, vici'. Appian claims to have dealt with the problems of the cities in Asia in a separate history (*B.C.*, 2.92), but, if such a work existed, it has since been lost.

[89] For honours granted to Servilius Vatia in Pergamum, Magnesia ad Meandrum, Ephesus and other cities, see Magie (1950), 416–17; Sherk (1984), 82.

[90] Cassius was popular in Syria, having rescued the remnants of Crassus' army from Carrhae in 53 and organized the defence of the province against a Parthian attack.

[91] In their informal agreement Octavian had received Italy and the West, Lepidus Africa.

[92] Crawford (1985), 262.

Chapter Four

[1] On this issue, see Santangelo (2007), 109–11.

[2] B. Burrell (*Neokoroi: Greeks Cities and Roman Emperors* [Leiden 2004], 17–18) notes that 'Pergamum [...] was a logical center for the [...] location of the cult.'

[3] It was, however, celebrated on the coinage of Pergamum. The observation by Tacitus (*Ann.*, 6.18.2) that Theophanes of Mytilene had been deified through the sycophancy of certain Greek communities ('Graeca adulatio'), presumably on Lesbos, that historian's place of birth, should not be dismissed as exposing a feeling of Roman superiority over the Greeks, for the writer knew Asia well enough. The sycophancy hardly disguised the very real pact between community and the new deity; a celebration of the dedicatee brought often substantial material benefits to those giving the dedication and its concomitant festival and future support from the god's family on earth. However, there were also new dangers during a time when there was a single ruler and Theophanes' descendants were ruined by this association, says Tacitus.

[4] Roman magistrates had been courted well before the end of the monarchy at Pergamum. Broughton (*MRR*, 4.168) notes honours dedicated to a M. Popillius Laenas, perhaps the consul of 139, at Magnesia ad Meandrum soon after 150 BC, presumably while he was visiting as an envoy. The reason for the honours is not disclosed, nor why he should have ventured so far from Pergamum itself, unless he had some business at the celebrated sanctuary of Artemis in this city.

[5] For a discussion of the introduction of the cult of Rome and Augustus and Caesar and Rome, see K. Galinksy, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton 1996), 322–6.

[6] The charge or *crimen* is not stated, but undoubtedly would have been classed as an abuse of proconsular powers in much the same way that any Roman magistrate could be accused of misappropriation of funds or moveable treasures. The case of Gaius Verres, proconsul in Sicily 74–71, readily springs to mind.

[7] The original library of Pergamum must to some extent have been reduplicated, but probably on a smaller scale, since the city was no longer the dominant entity in Asia, yet retained its reputation as a place of learning. Dio, 78.16.8.

[8] Galinsky ([1996], 323, 326) notes that besides the four provincial cults to Rome and Augustus in Pergamum, Nicomedia, Lugdunum and Colonia Agrippina – the two last dating to 12 BC and AD 9, so somewhat later than those dedicated by Greek provincial councils soon after Actium – and the two temples to the Deified Caesar and Rome at Ephesus and Nicaea (Bithynia-Pontus), there were at least thirty-seven other city cult centres throughout Asia honouring Augustus. Magie ([1950], 1613–14) lists no less than twenty-nine cults to Rome dating from the first century BC to the Early Principate, but these would have continued to proliferate. Magie ([1950], 1614) also lists twenty-six to Rome and Augustus or to Augustus alone. Just a single cult to Livia at Attaleia is noted. The Pergamene queens would have been beneficiaries of such cults and it was just a matter of time before the Romans also allowed this for the consorts of the emperors.

[9] There were many cities which possessed this privilege, although not with an individual treaty (*foedera*), but rule by an autocrat, however amiable, meant that such a distinction could equally be given or taken away.

[10] Dio, 54.7.6, lost their free status, 54.23.7, status restored in 15 BC; Levick (1996), 648, 'lost their freedom for five years for executing Romans'.

[11] It was probably more widespread than the sources reveal. An entire region of Lycia lost its free status under Claudius about 53 for precisely the same sort of unrest (Tac. *Ann.*, 12.58.2; Dio, 50.17.3; Levick [1996], 671).

[12] Levick (1996), 662.

[13] These were important statements about priority among the ruling elite, so whereas Roman magistrates from Q. Mucius Scaevola (cos. 95) had been accorded cult status in Asia, the last public figure not a member of the dynasty was C. Marcius Censorinus, proconsul in AD 2.

[14] It is possible that this Mithridates was related to the earlier prominent Pergamene and friend of Julius Caesar, as noted by Strabo, 13.4.3. See also Chapter 6.

[15] Plutarch (*Crass.*, 31.5–32.1) claims that 20,000 were killed and 10,000 taken captive. Crassus' quaestor, C. Cassius Longinus, the later assassin of Caesar, escaped with 500 cavalry.

[16] Labienus was the son of the Pompeian general T. Labienus, and was killed along with Pacorus in one of the battles in 39 or 38 (Plut. *Ant.*, 34.2; Dio, 49.19–21; *OCD*[2] 575). The Roman army was commanded by P. Ventidius (cos. suff. 43), then a supporter of Antony (Dio, 48.39.3, 39.19.1; Syme [1939], 223–4).

[17] He also lost legionary standards (J. A. Crook, 'Political History, 30 BC-AD 14,' *CAH*[2] [Cambridge 1996] Volume 10.90).

[18] The third and final standard was returned in the reign of Nero when Tiridates was crowned king of Armenia at Rome in AD 66, over a century after it had been lost to the Parthians.

[19] R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford 1959), 466.

[20] The episode occurred towards the end of Augustus' life, although he seems to have taken energetic action in support of the provincial complaint. Syme ([1939], 477 n. 4) dated the affair to about AD 11. Tacitus (*Ann.*, 3.68.1) refers to a letter of Augustus which had dealt with this case, implying that it involved some form of severe penalty. Seneca (*de Ira*, 2.5.5) refers to the excessive anger of Messalla Volesus.

[21] His mother was possibly an Atia and hence closely related to Augustus' own family (Tac. *Ann.*, 3.68.3), but the Iunii Silani were in any case very close supporters of the dynasty ever since M. Iunius Silanus had been consul with Augustus in 25 BC. Gaius Silanus was not the son of this consul, since his affiliation is 'C.f.' and so more likely a nephew, and is recorded in the consulship in AD 10 as suffect (Syme [1986], 97, 193) with his term as proconsul about a decade later. Tacitus portrays him as rather dim-witted yet also brutal and guilty of the crime of which he was accused. His conviction became a certainty but the sentence was mitigated by Tiberius, perhaps on account of his connection with the dynasty. His successor was M'. Aemilius Lepidus (*Ann.*, 3.32.2–3).

[22] His appointment as *Procurator Asiae* indicates that Capito was an *eques Romanus*, not a senator. At this time *equites* were usually appointed as financial officers reporting directly to the emperor and were not responsible to the proconsul, who had no jurisdiction over the procurator. For Lucilius Capito, see *PIR*[2] L.381. In the same year, however, the proconsul of Hispania Ulterior, C. Vibius Serenus, a former praetor and hence a senator, was convicted of violence in his province and imprisoned on the island of Amorgos (Tac. *Ann.*, 4.13.2).

[23] CGN 408; Levick (1996) 668. The residents of Cilicia had better luck with the successful prosecution of their procurator, Cossutianus Capito, but the Lycians who accused their proconsul, T. Eprius Marcellus (cos. 62), not only failed to secure a conviction but were themselves prosecuted (*Ann.*, 12.33.1).

[24] It has been shown that at its total destruction in AD 79 Pompeii had not fully recovered from a serious earthquake a decade before and, since then, parts of the city had been reoccupied on a less sophisticated level than before, as former villas in the process of being converted into more modest dwellings and shops clearly indicate.

[25] Strabo (12.8.18) notes the susceptibility of this region to earthquakes, especially the area around Laodicea ad Lycum; cf. Suet. *Tib.*, 5–6; Agathias, 2.17.

[26] Ephesus, Teos, Colophon, Phocaea, Erythrae, Clazomenae, Lebedos, Myus, Priene, Miletus, Chios, Samos and the later addition Smyrna.

[27] A sestertius was issued with a reference to this rebuilding, dated by its legend which contains Tiberius' 'TR. POT. XXIIII' to AD 22 (E. A. Sydenham, *Historical*

References to Coins of the Roman Empire [London 1968], 36). It seems likely that this was minted 'SC' to celebrate the restoration of the cities, which must by then have notified Rome. Five years in which recovery had occurred from a major earthquake is good, even by modern standards!

[28] As an observation, it is interesting to note how often an ancient writer will give a total number of items and then proceed to miss some. Here Tacitus wrote of 'twelve cities' but then lists eleven! Strabo (13.3.5), in his note on Magnesia ad Sipylum, probably refers to the same event as being a recent one.

[29] In AD 23 the city of Cibyra in southern Phrygia was given a three-year remission of the annual tribute because it had been destroyed by an earthquake (Tac. *Ann.*, 4.13.1). Other cities in the province of Asia seem to have escaped serious damage at this time.

[30] L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus (cos. 190) had been given formal charge of the campaign against the Seleucid king, but his brother, the celebrated Scipio Africanus, had accompanied him in an advisory capacity. See also Chapter 2.

[31] Tacitus also notes an application by the Cretans regarding a statue of Augustus but does not tell the outcome of the consuls' deliberation (3.63.6).

[32] Strabo (14.1.23) shows that such abuse was not a new phenomenon but had already plagued Ephesus in the first century due to privileges given to the temple of Artemis.

[33] For the episode, see Burrell (2004), 38–9.

[34] Miletus received the cult to Rome and Gaius in AD 40, but, says Dio (59.28.1), this was only because the emperor wanted to expropriate a fine new temple to Apollo which was then being built in the city. Sadly this temple, like that to Rome and Augustus at Pergamum, has still to be identified.

[35] The Hypaepeni were situated on the southern slope of Mt Tmolus and were still an urban community in the second century AD (Pausanias, 5.27.5–6).

[36] Herodotus (1.94) gives the story of the origins of the Etruscans, which Tacitus reproduces in synopsis form here. Herodotus was born in Halicarnassus, but if this fact was exploited by the Carians before the senate, it escaped mention by Tacitus.

[37] Tacitus exposes the legal niceties and bureaucracy involved in such a process and the interaction between those acting on behalf of urban communities in the province and the central government at Rome.

[38] Laodicea had become a city in the kingdom of Pergamum after the Treaty of Apamea in 189, since it had previously been a city of the Seleucids, and was situated in southern Phrygia, close to the frontier with Caria (Talbert [1985], 73). Its status is also noted by Strabo (12.18.8).

[39] By 47–48 Christian preaching had occurred at Iconium (*Acts* 14.1) and communities had been established within a short time, as is evident from *Acts* 16.2. Paul had been in Ephesus earlier in the 50s and had also visited Alexandria Troas (16.8), Assos (20.13) and Miletus (20. 17), while Thyateira (16.14) is also mentioned, although perhaps not part of his journey.

[40] This trade was probably based more on 'religious tourists' to the city than simply local trade.

[41] The preservation of a letter from Paul to the Ephesian Christians is nonetheless indicative of their importance in the ever-expanding borders of Christianity at this time.

[42] The proconsul was unlikely to be needed in a military capacity, although he almost certainly had seen active duty in the army during his term of duty, since the province became one of the most stable in the empire. In financial affairs, the equestrian procurators who collected the tribute were appointees of the emperor, to whom they reported directly, and were not subordinates of the senatorial governor.

[43] H. Galsterer, 'The Administration of Justice', *CAH*[2] (Cambridge 1996), 412. See also F. Millar (*The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC-AD 337)* [London 1977], 443), who points out that the case was actually quite a complex one.

[44] See G. M. Rogers (*The Sacred Identity of Ephesos: Foundation Myths of a Roman City* [London 1991], 152–185), who deals in detail with evidence contained on an inscription which was erected about AD 104 and argues that the legendary foundations of the city were meant to connect with the Roman present and highlights the fusion of Greek and Roman civilisations. Many such foundations will have existed in Ephesus and many others elsewhere in Asia. An earlier example noted by Rogers ([1991], 28) was that of Vedius Pollio, dated to soon after 27 BC.

[45] Philostratus' *Life* circulated about 220 and is here, of course, concerned with Apollonius' prophecy of the imminent arrival of the plague which afflicted Asia in the 90s and which his subject helped to overcome (4.11).

[46] See further in Chapter 6 and Appendix 3.

[47] Thus note the comments of S. Mitchell, 'The Plancii in Asa Minor', *JRS* 64 (1974), 27: 'it becomes increasingly obvious how complex the relationships between the various families were [...] we are beginning to be able to form a convincing, if sketchy, picture of a power structure, based on a close-knit network of dominant families, which produced the ruling elite of the cities, the dynasts of the Hellenistic period, and the senators and consuls [...] of the Roman Empire.'

[48] *OCD*[2] 850; M. Antonius Polemon, the second-century rhetorician and descendant of the Pontic king, lived mostly at Smyrna. The family appears to have remained in Asia and avoided the dangers of public life in Rome.

[49] It is notable that the order in which provincials became senators should follow almost the chronology of provincialization of new regions conquered by the Romans: Gallia Narbonensis Gaul, Iberia, Gallia Comata. The father of the emperor Trajan was from an Italian family who lived in Italica in Hispania Baetica, and was consul and attained patrician status under Vespasian.

[50] There were no more than five senators from Asia while Nero was ruler (Levick [1996], 674). One from Miletus remains anonymous while another, T. Iunius Montanus, was from Alexandria Troas (cos. suff. 81) and almost certainly the first consul from Asia. He was followed within a decade by C. Caristanius Fronto (cos. suff. 90) from Pisidian Antioch (Syme [1958], 597 n. 4). M. Calpurnius Rufus from Attaleia and M. Plancius Varus from Perge, both in Pamphylia, were senators under Tiberius and Nero, as was the Phrygian L. Servenius Cornutus from Acmonia (Levick [1996], 674). The suffect consul of 100 Cornutus Tertullus was probably also from Perge (Mitchell [1974], 27).

[51] Syme (1958), 509 and n. 8; *ILS* 8819. Marriage to a Pergamene family or some other familial connection is certainly possible. The Iulii Bassi were probably enfranchised by Tiberius, and hence the benefactor of Pergamum was probably a third- or fourth-generation Roman citizen.

[52] Syme (1958), 466 n. 9.
[53] Syme (1958), 509; cf. *ILS* 8971.
[54] Apollonius' visionary exploits were apparently the stuff of legend. Philostratus (5.30) claims that when his subject was in Alexandria and was meeting with Vespasian, who was en route to Italy to claim the Principate in late 69, a vision came to Apollonius regarding the emperor's son Domitian's escape from the Capitoline Hill in Rome, where he and other Flavian supporters had been besieged by supporters of Vitellius.

Chapter Five

[1] Dates in this chapter are AD unless otherwise noted.
[2] Although I take as a rough and ready terminus for the end of Byzantine Empire the Latin sack of Constantinople in 1204, it obviously continued down to 1453. However the Byzantine Empire after 1204 was arguably not even a shadow of its former self.
[3] There was a notable exception in C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus (cos. suff. 105), a general of Trajan (R. Syme, *Anatolica: Studies in Strabo*, ed. A. R. Birley [Oxford 1995], 99).
[4] R. MacMullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome* (New Haven 1988) 33–4; cf. Magie (1950) considered the crises in the third century the start of decline while Foss ([1977], 469–86) really argues for a discrete situation, each city of the region being unique.
[5] The East as a whole experienced more settled conditions in these years than the West.
[6] Orosius (7.17) has essentially the same account of Pescennius dying at Cyzicus, suggesting an identical source.
[7] On this emperor's character see Magie (1950), 683: 'the brutal and tyrannical Caracalla – evidently a psychopath'; and on the grant of universal citizenship, 687: 'it marked the beginning of a general disintegration of the Roman world and it was the precursor of a period of rust and decay.'
[8] He might, of course, also have had Trajan in mind. Julius Caesar was about to depart for a campaign against the Parthians in 44 when he was assassinated. Caracalla had accompanied his father on the campaign which had included the capture of Ctesiphon in 198, for which success the emperors were honoured by many of the cities in the East, including Aphrodisias (Reynolds [1982], 125).
[9] Dio places his arrival in the context of an academic debate on the origins of certain verse and is perhaps a topos representing the status of Pergamum as a place of learning, rather like an Athens of Asia.
[10] For the cult's healing functions in general, see D. Ogden, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Oxford 2002), 265. For its oracular powers, see S.I. Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination* (Oxford 2008), 90–5. For a sestertius celebrating the efficacy of the treatment, said to be a 'physical debility', see E. A. Sydenham, *Historical References to Coins of the Roman Empire* (London 1968), 129.
[11] There is no literary source for this event. Dio Herodian and the *Historia Augusta* all mention his visit but not its purpose nor its result, although it must surely have

been in Dio's original account which is lost. The epitome of Dio's history at this point is very brief and episodic. The details are to be gleaned from a series of large bronze *cistophoroi* issued by the city at this time cataloguing Caracalla's visit to the shrine and the subsequent rebuilding in the city, as discussed by K. Harl, *Civic Coins and Civic Politics* (Berkeley 1987), 55–8.

[12] It must have been on the way to Syria and Antioch that Caracalla stopped at Tyana in Cappadocia where, according to Dio (78.18.4), he honoured the memory of Apollonius, again perhaps preoccupied with his interest in healing cults. For Caracalla's route of advance, see Magie (1950) 684–5.

[13] Herod., 4.8.3; Dio, 78.15.3–4; Harl (1987), 56; Magie (1950), 684.

[14] The infamous argument between Achilles and Agamemnon which occupies the start of the *Iliad* occurred when the latter refused to return Chryseis, the daughter of Chryses, the priest of Apollo, who some time earlier had been seized by the Greeks. This refusal resulted in Apollo having revenge on the Greeks by sending a plague against them. After negotiations among the Greek leaders Agamemnon was forced to return Chryseis, but took Achilles' prize Briseis as compensation for his loss and so the feud between them was started which ended only with the killing of Achilles' friend Patroclus by Hector.

[15] Johnston (2008), 92; B. Baldwin (1989), 562: 'the best documented hypochondriac of Graeco-Roman times.' The same might well apply to Caracalla or it might well have been feigned.

[16] Magie (1950), 684; Harl (1987), 56; Johnston *Historia* 32 (1983), 67 no. 23.

[17] For this gift of a 'third neocorate' by Caracalla, see Harl (1987), 60, and that Smyrna, which already possessed three such temple establishments (Magie [1950], 685) also received a visit from the emperor.

[18] It is worth noting that Dio's text at this juncture recalls the sort of detail devoted to Asia by Tacitus, whose *Annales* and *Histories* the former was obviously well acquainted with.

[19] Macrinus, the chief plotter against Caracalla, had made his young son Diadumenianus, who was born in about 208, Caesar on his acclamation as emperor. Tarautas was a nickname for Caracalla from a gladiator whom this emperor is said to have resembled. For the occasion perhaps alluded to in the *Historia Augusta*, see *Caracallus,* 13.

[20] Macrinus had also been very foolish not to eliminate the remaining members of Caracalla's family when he succeeded, who were left apparently unsupervised and free enough to organize the insurrection against him in 218.

[21] Caracalla is attested on the coinage at Laodiceia ad Lycum, at Alexandria Troas, Sardis, Thyateira, Stratoniceia (Harl [1987], 56–7). In terms of quantity and variety Pergamum clearly took the lead on this occasion.

[22] Magie ([1950], 691) notes the copy of a letter sent by Sulpicius Priscus, proconsul of Asia to Aphrodisas, and (692–3) building work at Ephesus, Miletus, Philadelphia and Thyateira, and festivals at Termessus, Nicaea and Nicomedia.

[23] C. Roueché, 'Rome, Asia and Aphrodisias in the Third Century', *JRS* 71 (1981), 103.

[24] Roueché (1981), 108.

[25] Roueché (1981), 113–17.

[26] See the arguments of S. Dimitriev, 'The End of *Provincia Asia*' *Historia* 50 (2001), 478: 'The separation of Phrygia and Caria [...] resulted from military necessity and was temporary.'

[27] Magie (1950), 699–700.

[28] See Magie (1950), 700 for the widespread attention to the roads in Asia Minor during the reigns of Gordian III and Philip and for statues erected in honour of the former.

[29] Foss (1977), 472.

[30] The chronology is obscure. Either made audacious by their successes east of the Aegean in 267 the Goths then attacked and sacked Athens, Corinth, Sparta and Argos, or victories in Greece prompted a crossing to Asia. Somehow, geographically, if the origin of the Gothic was the Euxine, it would seem that the first is more likely, but then it might also be that the Goths were divided into a number of war bands.

[31] Magie (1950), 712; cf. Foss ([1977], 472), who argues for quite the opposite from the time of Diocletian. A lack of renovation on a major scale of the Artemision may well stem from a combination of factors: the silting-up of the harbour and loss of trade and hence a lack of available funds, but also the increasingly strong opinions of the resident Christian community who will have surely opposed such – in their opinion – extravagant use of the city's resources. And by then their opinions may well have constituted a majority, or very close.

[32] For a discussion of the dates of these upheavals, see Magie ([1950], 706, 1566–8), who recognizes that the Gothic incursions may be dated to just about any time between the 260s and 280s, but also postulates two raids: one in the late 250s another perhaps under Gallienus. Note also Foss ([1977], 478) for the attack on Didyma. Whatever the precise date, it is nonetheless certain that chaos had returned to the lives of the inhabitants of Asia Minor as far afield as Cappadocia and Galatia. Regarding the Gothic invasion, Dimitriev ([2001], 477–8) argues that there may have been an earlier attack on Bithynia in the 250s but that the main upheaval seems to belong in the 260s and that the situation had been retrieved by the reign of Aurelian.

[33] Foss (1977), 480 and n. 54.

[34] Oros., 7.22.7: 'Graecia Macedonia Pontus Asia Gothorum inundatione deletur.'

[35] Foss (1977), 475–6.

[36] No Roman emperor of this period was able to match the capture of Ctesiphon, by then the chief city of Mesopotamia, 30 kilometres (20 miles) south-east of modern Bagdad on the river Tigris, by Septimius Severus in 198. However this success was eventually emulated by Carus in 283 and Galerius in 299, both of whom sacked the city.

[37] It is interesting that Valerian had forgotten the example of Crassus after Carrhae in 53 BC where that Roman general was killed during negotiations with the Parthians. The capture of Valerian was the worst disaster meted out to the Romans in the East since Carrhae 300 years before.

[38] Antioch had probably been attacked on two previous occasions in the 250s and at least partially damaged by the Parthians. Tarsus, on the other hand, had almost certainly not experienced sacking for centuries.

[39] Magie (1950), 712–13.

[40] A decline in the local coinage is nonetheless attested for the Later Empire – see Harl (1987) 59; K. Butcher, *Roman Syria and the Near East*, Los Angeles 2003, 261.

[41] T.D. Barnes, 'Lactantius and Constantine', *JRS* 63 (1973), 32–5.

[42] For verse in praise of Diocletian, see B. Baldwin, *Roman and Byzantine Papers* (Amsterdam 1989), 77.

[43] Galerius died in 311; Maximian, having attempted to regain his position, in 309; Severus in 307; Maxentius in 312; Maximinus in 314; Licinius in 324.

[44] Licinius was executed in Thessalonica in 325.

[45] This was increased further to about a hundred provincial units by Constantine.

[46] P. Southern & K. R. Dixon (*The Late Roman Army* [London 1996], 183) also note that Bithynia-Pontus was divided into four new sectors from west to east: Bithynia, Paphlagonia, DiosPontus and Pontus Polemoniacus, while Cilicia was split between Cilicia and Isauria.

[47] N. H. Baynes & H. St. L. B. Moss, *Byzantium: An Introduction to East Roman Civilisation* (Oxford 1948), 281.

[48] Thus see Dimitriev's conclusions ([2001], 478–85) regarding Asia contra Roueché (1981).

[49] Foss (1977), 472.

[50] Literature, also an obvious casualty of unsettled times, similarly revived, but with a distinct change in emphasis towards the religious. On the epigrams of Palladas of Alexandria, whose epigrams illustrate continuity with earlier exponents, see Baldwin (1989), 260–4.

[51] For fighting in the 340s including the siege and battle at Singara, see S. F. Tougher, *Julian the Apostate* (Edinburgh 2007), 64.

[52] Note the comments in this respect of Southern & Dixon ([1996], 171) that it was: 'difficult for the civilian to distinguish between illegal and legal exactions'; and MacMullen ([1988], 160): 'when someone in uniform turned up with a demand for a bushel of wheat or a jug of wine, you couldn't easily say he had no right to it.' Again note the evidence from Zosimus (4.31.1) cited by Southern & Dixon ([1996], 174) for poor behaviour by Roman troops in Philadelphia in Lydia, close to Pergamum, where these were described as 'barbarians', and so Goths probably, who mistreated and indeed injured or killed local traders while soldiers drawn from Egypt with better discipline intervened to prevent wholesale pillaging from taking place. Such episodes must have been quite common throughout the Empire whenever troops were on the march.

[53] MacMullen ([1988], 202), citing Ammianus (19.5.2), notes that at least two legions from the western provinces had been ordered to the theatre of war in the East.

[54] For Julian's reputation as an intellectual and philosopher, see Brown (1971), 91, and especially Tougher (2007), 23–30.

[55] On Julian's early education in Macellum in Cappadocia, Constantinople and Nicomedia, see Tougher (2007), 23–6.

[56] Eunapius in his *Life of the Sophists* (476) mentions the physician Oribasius of Pergamum, who was an influential advisor to Julian and another of Aedisius' students (Foss [1977], 480; Tougher [2007], 152–3). The circle of sophists closest to Julian clearly had their origins in Asia and had strong ties both to the Pergamene school and to the city itself.

[57] Eunapius cited in Tougher (2007), 152–5. Maximus was later executed by the emperor Valens.

[58] CIL 2.7088 cited by Tougher (2077), 102.

[59] At some point either during this visit to Asia or at an earlier period of his life, perhaps when engaged in studies at Pergamum, Julian had visited the temple at Didyma and been accepted as an initiate of Apollo (Foss [1977], 478).

[60] Such lack of empathy surfaced in a major way in Antioch, where he managed to alienate the population during his six-month stay in the city, July 362 to early 363. Actually Caracalla had also stayed at Nicomedia, then went by the same road to Ancyra. The routes of both emperors to the East were identical inasmuch as they indicate a desire to treat Antioch as the base from which to pursue their campaigns against Parthia.

[61] Julian's attempts to curb the excesses of the imperial bureaucracy and household have drawn both ancient and modern comment – thus Tougher (2007), 46–9, noting the sources.

[62] For Julian's campaign and death, *see* Ferrill (1986), 51–6.

[63] Curiously enough, Julian was 31 or 32 when he was killed, Caracalla just 29, Alexander the Great 33 at his death in Babylon. The body of Alexander was meant to be interred in Aigai, the former royal residence in Macedonia, but his funeral cortege travelling from Babylon was intercepted by Ptolemy who transferred it to Alexandria, where it remained throughout antiquity. Julian's ashes could easily have been shipped to Rome as had occurred to those of Trajan, who had died in Cilicia in 117. It is likely that Julian's household either chose not to cause controversy or considered that memory of this ruler should be rapidly extinguished.

[64] A. H. M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (Harmondsworth 1972), 237–8. John claimed to have converted 70,000 pagans in Asia Minor which, if accurate, indicates the extent of the power of the old cults still in 542.

[65] Foss, C., 'Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities" of Byzantine Asia', *AJA* 81 (1977), 471, for the list of the twenty cities and that Philadelphia should also be included, but has been rejected by some as a later insertion. As noted above, such inaccuracy is not at all uncommon among the works of ancient writers and Philadelphia should probably be regarded as an original inclusion here. More interesting is the fact that the Magnesia listed is not specified. This probably means that the city was Magnesia ad Sipylum, which remained a major centre in the Byzantine period, rather than Magnesia ad Meandrum. The latter had declined in size and importance by the tenth century if, indeed, it had not been abandoned altogether, as its site today bears witness. Other notable absences are the coastal cities of Clazomenae, Erythrae, Phocaea and Aphrodisias in Caria, the last of which suffered severe earthquake damage in the seventh century from which it did not fully recover (J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* [Hertford 1982], xvii). The list can therefore hardly be considered a definitive one.

[66] After Pergamum: Magnesia, Tralles, Hierapolis, Colossae (Chonae), Laodicea ad Lycum, Nyssa, Straoniceia, Alabanda, Alinda, Myrina, Teos and Lebedos. As evidence for strengthening the case for an arbitrary enumeration of the cities it should be noted that by this time Priene was barely more than a village. Evidence for Ephesus' continued importance, in religious affairs at least, and maybe

prosperity, even if not on the scale of its heyday, may be gauged from the ecclesiastical Councils held there in 431 and 449.

[67] Thedore Lascaris *Epistulae* 80, in *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae* CCXVII, ed. Nicolaus Festa (Firenze 1898), 107 = *Ep* 80 fr. 117; Foss (1977), 480–1. Drawings done in 1750 by G. B. Borra and published by M. Kunze ('Pergamum in Jahre 1750', *AW* 26 [1995], 177–86) show that substantial remains, as in many other ancient sites around the Mediterranean, could be seen in the mid-eighteenth century. See also W. Radt, 'Recent Research in and about Pergamum: A Survey (ca. 1987–1997)' in *Pergamum: Citadel of the Gods*' ed. H. Koester (Harvard 1998), 1 & 28; Radt (2001), 51. K. Nohlen 'The "Red Hall" (Kizil Avlu) in Pergamon', in Koester ([1998], 78–9) comments on later descriptions of the remains in the city.

[68] On the later economic activity and settlement in and around the acropolis at Pergamum, see K. Rheidt (2002), 623–9.

Chapter Six

[1] Inscriptions from Pergamum abound and have been mentioned at various times in the discussion. Since they arguably do not present an image as such they are not discussed again in this chapter.

[2] Fifth-century Athenian coinage portrays the olive, a basic crop of Attica; Selinous the wild celery, Cyrene Silphium, Carthage its horses, Syracuse its spring of Arethusa.

[3] For the earliest inhabitants of the Caicus Valley, see Hansen (1947), 4.

[4] Duly noted by Hansen (1947), 1; Rheidt (2002), 623.

[5] Phocaea presents something of a puzzle in Strabo's account because it seems to have been a city with which he was clearly unacquainted. He implies (14.1.38) that he has already dealt with Phocaea in his coverage of Massilia, of which it was the metropolis (6.1.1), although this is nothing more than the barest of references to the history of the Phoceaeans' quest for a new home after their expulsion by the Persians under Xerxes. This appears to indicate an error on the part of the writer. Strabo also cites Herodotus, a source he often avoids (cf. 6.1.1 where he uses Antiochus of Syracuse rather than Herodotus for his information on the Persian capture of Phocaea), as the authority for the information that the Hermus river, with its main tributaries the Pactolus and Phrygius, reaches the sea at Phocaea. The wording, moreover, suggests that the geographer had never seen this part of Ionia, which for a native of Pontus is particularly striking.

[6] This means that for much of the time in antiquity Pergamum was closer to the sea by perhaps as much as five kilometres or a mile or two, although that does not materially affect the argument here.

[7] The height of the acropolis is a little uncertain, between 1,000 and 1,100 feet is most commonly given (Hansen [1947], 2 & 234).

[8] On its Roman date, see Freely (2004),80; cf. www.dainst.org = *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* dated as Hellenistic third-second century BC, but of far greater antiquity.

[9] See further in Chapter 1.

[10] It certainly compares well with the spectacular Acro-Corinth or the site at Delphi and Priene.

[11] And later still the temple to the Olympian Zeus near the Stadium of Herodes Atticus, originally begun by Pericles but completed only through the subventions of Hadrian, half a millennium later.

[12] Even Segesta's unfinished temple possesses a grander aspect than those on Ortygia in Syracuse.

[13] For maps of the acropolis see Radt (1999), 64–5; Radt (2001), between 42 & 43.

[14] However due note should be made of the acropolis of Selinous which, at least in the later stages of development in the city from ca. 409–250, was also a place of general habitation, at least by a garrison and traders if not a full civic community.

[15] Radt (2001), 43–5.

[16] Hence the 'great number of cisterns' (Hansen [1947], 237), which is commensurate with a fortified position, but one which perhaps was also perceived as liable to frequent attack from other dwellers in this valley.

[17] Thus Radt (2001), 47.

[18] The gardens described as belonging to Attalus III (Plut. *Dem.*, 20.2) need not have been on the acropolis.

[19] Dionysius I had 10,000 mercenaries in barracks on Ortygia, presumably with their families, not to mention supply depots and munitions factories. His own palace was on the manmade mole (building over the sea) which connected the island to mainland at Akradina and the Agora.

[20] Since it was not finished until the reign of Hadrian (117–138) it was dedicated to this ruler as well, hence the likelihood that it was known locally by that emperor's name and not by that of his predecessor.

[21] However its eventual completion depended on imperial, not private, largesse.

[22] Indeed Radt ([1998], 31) refers only to what he deems to have been some minor buildings that have emerged among the debris of the temple's foundations.

[23] The idea, although creating a spectacle on a large scale, was not a new one, since the villa of Lucullus which had belonged to Cornelia, daughter of Scipio Africanus, then Gaius Marius and finally became a residence of the emperors, near Baiae in Campania had been extended over the sea even in the first century BC (Sall. *Cat.*, 13.1). For the construction of the temple of Zeus and Trajan using vaulted substructures, see Radt (2001), 53.

[24] Radt (1998), 25–6.

[25] For the temple, see Magie (1950), 594–5, and that Ephesus and Smyrna also were allowed to erect temples to Trajan before the end of his rule. It seems on the whole unlikely that some buildings were sacrificed in this area, given the lack of available space on the highest level of the acropolis and that the temple was not preceded by simply an open or empty space.

[26] Zeus was portrayed seated (Radt [1998], 31).

[27] Another missing feature is a temple to Apollo which must have existed in a prime spot. See the quote with which this discussion began in the Introduction. Temples to Apollo were regularly situated on acropoleis – note the archaic temple of Apollo on Ortygia in Syracuse, or that on the acropolis at Selinous. These were often among the earliest structures in towns born of resettlement

around the Mediterranean. Pergamum's origin as a fortress might just preclude such a religious precinct. Nonetheless, the rulers of the state will hardly have wanted to ignore this powerful deity whose son, Aesculapius occupied such a prominent place on the plain.

[28] Hansen (1947), 237; cf. Radt (2001), 53, for the fourth century. It may also have never been fully completed since some of its columns remained without flutes (Hansen [1947], 237), although this is a very common feature of temples throughout the Ancient World, which were begun but frequently not finished. The construction of a Doric temple would be more in keeping with the Classical period and possibly indicates a desire to infuse the site with greater antiquity than it actually possessed.

[29] The cult was to Athena Polias.

[30] For the victory ca. 230, see Chapter 1. For the location of the trophy, see Schmidt (1962), 8–10.

[31] *OCD*², 173 & 607. See further below.

[32] Hansen ([1947], 244) calls this temenos a 'hall' and built soon after 250 BC.

[33] Radt (1999), 170.

[34] Radt (1999), 170.

[35] Allen (1983), 76.

[36] Augustus is said to have added further embellishments (Evans [2009], 140). On the cult of Zeus in its various guises at Syracuse, see Freeman (1894), 314.

[37] For the existence of an earlier Dionysus temple dated to the Hellenistic period, therefore the Attalid period, see Radt (1998), 26.

[38] For the inscription, see Sherk (1984), 101 and *IGRR*, 4.1682, where Mithridates is also described as the third founder of the city.

[39] As noted in Chapter 3, Caracalla was murdered in the campaign between Carrhae and Edessa (*HA*. Caracallus, 6).

[40] Hansen (1947), 249. Lacinian heraions were regularly situated on the edge or border of a city's territory, thus the Heraions at Metapontum, Croton and Poseidonia.

[41] Compare the precinct of Demeter Malaphoros at Selinous to the west and outside the city's main fortifications.

[42] Hansen (1947), 237–8.

[43] Schmidt (1962), 9–10.

[44] Allen (1983), 123.

[45] The former Serapeion remains partially a place of religion converted in antiquity firstly to a church and then, following the Turkish possession of Pergamum from 1302, to a mosque.

[46] K. Nohlen, 'The "Red Hall" (Kizil Avlu) in Pergamon', in *Pergamon: Citadel of the Gods*, ed. H. Koester (Harvard 1998), 85.

[47] For Hadrian's interest and probable encouragement of the work, see M. P. Bonz, 'Beneath the Gaze of the Gods: The Pergamon Evidence for a Developing Theology of Empire', in Koester (1998), 273–5.

[48] For local contributions to the overhaul to the sanctuary at this time, see Radt (2001), 55.

[49] Apollodorus may well have been dead by this time, and had certainly earned the disfavour of the emperor at some stage. However, one of his students or peers could easily have been employed here. It is also highly feasible, given that a

physician such as Galen had the freedom to commute between Pergamum and Rome, that such a lifestyle might also be pursued by a professional architect. Galen, interestingly enough, worked in both cities just as the temple was being built at Pergamum and was also closely associated with this healing cult. He may also have been influential in its construction or concept. Contacts between Rome and Pergamum were clearly well maintained in this period.

[50] By contrast, a city such as Syracuse had acquired its main venues of entertainment – theatre, amphitheatre, odeon – by the first century AD, so Pergamum actually lagged somewhat behind.

[51] M. Corbier, 'City, territory and taxation,' in *City and Country in the Ancient World*, eds. J. Rich & A. Wallace-Hadrill (London 1991).

[52] See Hansen (1947), 246–50, for a brief overview of the water supplies to Pergamum.

[53] Allen (1983), 107. It is reminiscent, however, of the Spartan 'harmost' of garrison commander, especially since most cities in this region were controlled with a resident force loyal to the kings.

[54] *OCD*[2] 387; B. L. Trell, 'The Temple of Artemis at Ephesus' in *The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World*, ed. P. Clayton & M. Price (London 1988) 78–99.

[55] See Sherwin-White & Khurt (1989), *passim*.

[56] For Sardis in the Late Roman Empire and under Byzantium, see Foss (1977), 475–7.

[57] Foss ([1977], 482–3) notes that the temple of Zeus in the city's agora received some attention from Diocletian and Julian.

[58] At Syracuse a statue to Apollo stood in a temenos adjacent to the city's main theatre. At Delphi the theatre was one of several venues of entertainment associated with the Pythian Games. For Miletus and Didyma in the Late Empire, see Foss (1977), 477–9.

[59] Mørkholm (1991), 82.

[60] Mørkholm (1991), 3. Presumably the same electrum-bearing rocks which were used in the very first coinages of Lydia (Herodt., 1.94).

[61] A Pergamene fleet was in regular operation by the time of the Second Punic War.

[62] The obverse has a head of Apollo crowned with a laurel wreath, the reverse a figure in a Phrygian cap with the legend PERG(amon). If this coin dates to the end of the fifth century then the figure may represent a local official or ruler such as Gongylus, ruler of Myrina and Grynium, or Gorgion of Gambrium and Palaegambrium, or even Eurysthenes of Teuthrania or Procles of Halisarne (Xen. *Hell.*, 3.1.6). But with the Phrygian cap much in evidence a Persian such as Tissaphernes, then satrap of much of western Asia, might seem more likely.

[63] O. Mørkholm (*Early Hellenistic Coinage: From the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336–188 B.C.)* [Cambridge 1991], 94) from the design attributes a date between about 334 and 323. The issue is unlikely to have been earlier than Alexander's victory at the Granicus river, and perhaps is closer to 323 and even later, since the Macedonian coinage portraying Heracles/Alexander is mostly posthumous.

[64] On the portrait of Athena, see Mørkholm (1991), 26. The head of a young Herakles (Alexander) is portrayed draped with lion skin on the obverse. The reverse portrays a statue or palladium of Athena, draped with the peplos,

wearing the aegis or shield on her left arm and with raised spear in her right hand. The legend reads PERGAMWN ('of the citizens of Pergamum') and is possibly the earliest coinage issued by Philetairos.

[65] To the left of Athena is an ivy leaf which may have some connection with the cult of Aesculapius for which later on the city was famous throughout the Mediterranean.

[66] Mørkholm (1991), 75–6. Corupedium itself may have been celebrated with another issue with horse and elephant illustrated on obverse and reverse fully dressed for battle, but that coin issue is not relevant here.

[67] That being said, much also depends on the engravers who lived and worked hundreds of miles apart and probably never encountered their king face to face. These will have worked from facsimiles so precision is to be doubted most of the time.

[68] Mørkholm (1991), 28.

[69] With the exception of a rare issue of Eumenes II perhaps dated about the 160s (Mørkholm [1991], 171, no. 614).

[70] For Eumenes as the instigator of the festival at Delos, see Allen (1983), 22 n. 46, where note is made that a trophy for this festival was dedicated in 162, and hence probably the first to be held following the death of its dedicatee.

[71] On Hermias, see *OCD*^{2}, 504.

[72] See Allen (1983), 20–2, for a discussion of an inscription which suggests that Pitane was controlled by Eumenes I but that his status is not mentioned.

[73] Agathocles had taken the diadem in Syracuse only in 308, while Hieron II became king there in 276.

[74] For illustrations of the *cistophoros*, see, for example, R. A. G. Carson, *Coins of Greece and Rome* (London 1962), Pl. 3; Crawford (1985), 158–9.

[75] Allen ([1983], 110–11) has a list of these cities. Magnesia ad Sipylum should probably be added to those paying tribute since it was clearly under Seleucid control prior to the battle near here in early 189. For the date of production dated ca. 175, see Mørkholm (1991), 36–7.

[76] Mørkholm (1991), 30.

[77] For illustrations, see Koester (1998), Pls. 33–36, Pl. 34 with three temples might seem more appropriate to the rule of Caracalla when the city received its third provincial cult (see Chapter 3).

[78] S. Tougher (*The Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society* [London 2008], 20–1) notes that his eunuch status has been doubted and put down to hostile propaganda but that there is no reason to doubt the literary sources, especially when he was so honoured by later rulers and their people.

[79] Livy (42.16.9) simply says that Eumenes voiced his displeasure having heard of his brother's haste to marry Stratonice, the Pergamene queen, and so succeed as king. Ploybius probably preserved this in rather more detail. Note also the negotiations between Eumenes and Perseus (44.24.1–26.1), in Livy probably a précis of Polybius' fuller account.

[80] Attalus is said to have executed the philosopher Daphitas who had ridiculed him in verse (Strabo, 14.1.39).

[81] Inscriptions to his successes in military campaigns are recorded but, of course, could easily have been manufactured to give a better image than what was actually won.

[82] The citizens of Asia might have disagreed with him, since this speech is given in the context of the Romans levying still more taxes from the province which had unluckily given aid, under compulsion, to the tyrannicides who had recently lost their fight against Octavian and Antony.

[83] See also Chapter 1. For Andronicus and other officials under the Attalids, see Allen (1983), 129–35.

[84] Polybius' father was the famous Achaean statesman Philopoemen to whom the Pergamene of the same name might conceivably have been related. On Philopoemen of Pergamum, see Badian (1970), 200. That he may have been related to Andronicus, see Allen (1983), 132. On the murder of the friends of Attalus II by his successor, see Diod., 34/35.3.

[85] For the role of Pergamene finances and why Tiberius' appropriation of these caused such turmoil, see D. Stockton, *The Gracchi* (Oxford 1979), 67–9, with references to earlier discussions. If indeed Gracchus chose to ignore the terms of the will which left the cities of the kingdom free in his *plebiscitum* to redirect the new province's revenues to his land commission (as C. F. Konrad, 'From the Gracchi to the First Civil War', in *A Companion to the Roman Republic*, ed. N. Rosenstein & R. Morstein-Marx [Oxford 2006], 169, suggests from Plut. *Ti. Gracchus*, 14.2) then it would surely have been incongruent behaviour towards Eudemus, with whom the sources suggest he was on good terms. It is possible that Eudemus was also a eunuch and an official of the royal household rather than a prominent citizen of the city.

[86] It would be interesting to know Plutarch's source, which is clearly hostile towards Gracchus. Livy would be the more likely historian accessible to Plutarch, but other accounts must have existed. The history written by C. Fannius within perhaps a decade of these events may be the ultimate source, although there were other compositions, such as that of the consul of 133 L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, which was probably equally inimical.

[87] Hellenistic visitors to Rome were a commonplace by the time Eudemus visited. Both Tiberius Gracchus and his brother Gaius had been taught rhetoric by Greeks from Asia and Syria respectively: Tiberius by Diophanes of Mytilene on Lesbos, Gaius by Menelaus of Marathus in Lebanon (Cic. *Brut.*, 104 & 100).

[88] Santangelo (2007), 109; M. Wörrle, 'Pergamum um 133 v. Chr.', Chiron 30 (2000), 543–76; SEG 50.1211. For a possible descendant living in Tralles, who was a supporter of P. Cornelius Dolabella (cos. 44) and executed in the civil wars of that period in 32, see Magie (1950), 1275, 1289.

[89] Given the rarity of the name (Badian [1970], 200; Plut. *Mor.*, 792b; Paus., 7.16.1, 16.8), this man may be a descendant of the general of Attalus II.

[90] Appian names Monima as the daughter of Philopoemen, who seems to have had little option but to obey the king's desire for this marriage (*Mith.*, 3.21). On the other hand he may have been duly rewarded – at least he is described as the *episkopos* or overseer of the city, a dubious honour in such uncertain times perhaps – and his later fate when Sulla retook the city goes unrecorded. The leaders of the conspiracy against Mithridates are named as Mynnio and Philotimus of Smyrna and Cleisthenes and Asclepiodotus of Lesbos, the last turned informer against his fellow plotters.

[91] The three Gallic tribes of Galatia were the Trocmi, Tectosages and Tolistobogii, each with a chief or tetrarch, and from the first century one of whom was king.

[92] He had raised an army and had come to the relief of Caesar who was besieged at that time by the forces of Cleopatra's brother and co-ruler, Ptolemy XIII. The author of the *Bellum Alexandrinum* (26.1) describes Mithridates as 'faithful to his friendship with Caesar' and a man 'magnae nobilitatis domi scientiaeque in bello et virtutis.'

[93] Augustus, in his review of the eastern provinces, restored Amyntas, son of Pharnaces and a grandson of Mithridates of Pontus, to this kingship.

[94] Fragments honouring Mithridates have been excavated at Pergamum, which plainly suggest that statues and even a heroon may well have existed (Sherk [1984], 101–2), especially since he is described fulsomely as the 'third founder' of the city after Pergamus and Philetairos (*IGRR*, 4.1682). Mithridates was evidently a fairly common name in Asia Minor, but it is at least conceivable that the Mithridates who, with Mazaeus, was co-sponsor of the double gateway to the Square Agora was related to the person of the same name from Pergamum. For the suggestion that both sponsors were buried close to their gate, see P. Scherrer, 'The Historical Topography of Ephesos', in *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor. New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*, ed. D. Parrish, *JRA* Supp. 45 (Portsmouth 2001), 77.

[95] Radt ([2001], 54–5) notes a heroon dedicated to Diodorus Pasparos, and also gifts from private individuals for the Aesculapion in the second century AD including Claudius Charax, Lucius Rufinus and Flavia Melitene.

[96] Hesiod is said to have originated from this part of Asia Minor.

[97] The date of this controversy is not given but, considering the reforms to the tax system in Asia wrought by Q. Mucius Scaevola in either 98 or 95, the embassy to Rome in which Artemidorus served may well have preceded the arrival of this proconsul, hence in the early 90s. See also Chapter 2.

[98] It is worth noting that Strabo refers to the warlike Colphonians but then names Mimnermus, a flautist of the city (14.1.28). Erythrae was famed for its physician Heraclides (14.1.34), Priene for Bias, one of the seven ancient sages (14.1.12), Samos for Pythagoras (14.1.16).

[99] See Mitchell (1974), 35, citing E. Bosch, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ankara im Altertum* (Ankara 1967), no. 105–6. The inscription has Severus claim to be a descendant of Dieotarus and Amyntus, tetrarchs of Galatia in the first century BC; hence he was also a relative of Mithridates and, furthermore, the Attalid dynasty of Pergamum. Hadrian was, of course, a noted admirer of Greek culture and his interest and – more importantly – financial aid was singularly responsible for the great burst in building activity among the cities of Greece and the East witnessed in the mid-second century.

[100] D. Ogden *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds* (Oxford 2002), 54.

[101] For a brief overview, see *OCD*^{2}, 110. For Aristides' detailed description of the Aesculapion and a discussion of the various aspects, see C. Jones, 'Aelius Aristides and the Asklepieion' in *Pergamum: Citadel of the Gods*, ed. Koester (1998), 63–76, who considers that his subject had a nervous breakdown. The rhetorical arts continued to offer ways to achieve eminence even in an ever-changing world: thus Menander of Laodicea ad Lycum, the orator, whose treatise on panegyrics was so influential on writers of the later Roman Empire (Harl [1987], 54). Eunapius of

Sardis (see Chapter 3), a philosopher of the fourth century remembered for his *Life of the Sophists*, was also involved in medical studies, probably at the Aesculapion.

[102] See Baldwin (1989), 563 for the comment: 'his (Galen's) theories on blood circulation and such were quite wrong and the long belief in them drove out memories of his better predecessor, Erasistratus.'

[103] The date of his death is obscure, with some favouring 199 (*OCD*², 454), while others as much as two decades later. For a discussion, see S. P. Mattern, *Galen and the Rhetoric of Healing* (Baltimore 2008), 3.

[104] Thus note Mattern's comment (2008), 48: 'Many stories occur in a void without a hint of their physical environment […] it is extremely difficult to assign absolute or even relative dates […]'.

[105] Indeed also to those who lived in rural Italy (Mattern [2008], 55).

[106] Thanks are due to Dr Laurence Totelin of Cardiff University for alerting me to this view and for the quotation from Galen.

Appendix

[1] See also Allen (1983), 181–94.

[2] See also Magie (1950), 1579–80; Broughton (1951–52), Volumes 1–2 *passim*.

[3] R. J. Evans, 'The Consular Candidacy of C. Billienus', *LCM* 14 (1989), 103–4; Evans (1994), 80 and n. 86, 84, 153 n. 59.

[4] Sulla's actions in Cappadocia certainly suggest Asia as his base of operations (*MRR*, 2.18).

[5] Although Sulla hardly set foot in Asia, his appointment as commander against Mithridates, whose invasion of Asia had been follow by an attack on Greece, was probably as proconsul of Asia.

[6] L. Cornelius Lentulus is attested as στρατηγὸς ὐπατος about 82, but can hardly have been the proconsul while Murena still occupied that position, so perhaps a senior legate (*MRR*, 2.68 and n.5).

[7] This Gabinius should be the father of the cos. 58, hence a praetor in the 90s or 80s.

[8] If Sulla was already enforcing his new law allocating provinces to the proconsuls in the year following their *magistratus*, then Claudius Nero's praetorship may have to be allocated to 80 rather than 81.

[9] Caesar served on the staff of Iuncus and was captured by pirates. His response after release to seek them out and execute his prisoners illustrates the extent of the problem and that, if the pirates were based in Cilicia, the proconsul was under considerable pressure there.

[10] Given Lucullus' evident freedom of action throughout Asia Minor, he must have been assigned Asia and Cilicia together as a single command against Mithridates, since his consular colleague M. Aurelius Cotta was based in Bithynia from 74–72 (*MRR*, 2.111).

[11] See the compelling argument of A. N. Sherwin White, 'Rome, Pamphylia and Cilicia', *JRS* (1975), 1–14.

[12] Gaius Verres, later to achieve notoriety as proconsul of Sicily, was, as a young man, a member of Dolabella's *consilium* (*MRR*, 2.81, 85).

[13] For a discussion of proconsuls of Asia in the Early Principate, see Magie (1950) 1581–4; Syme, especially *ZPE* 43 (1981), 374; *ZPE* 53 (1983) 191–208; *ZPE* 51 (1983) 271–90. Note Syme's comment ([1983], 201) that no proconsul of Asia is known to have died of natural causes when in office for over two hundred years.

[14] The preponderance of representatives of old and established senatorial families in this proconsulship can hardly be coincidental and must reflect Augustus' own conservatism in granting this prestigious post only to those of suitable *dignitas*, but also signals the equally important point that these public figures identified themselves with the new regime and were themselves satellites or clients of the *princeps*.

[15] For Norbanus' proconsulship, see R. J. Evans, 'Norbani Flacci: The Consuls of 38 and 24 B.C.,' *Historia* 36 (1987), 127–8.

[16] For the proconsuls and putative dates, see Syme (1986), 404–5.

[17] For the proconsuls of Asia in the period AD 14–68, see also Vogel Weidemann (1982), 220–470, 475–7.

[18] Marius Cordus, formerly regarded as an expraetor and senior legate and then acting proconsul following the murder of Silanus for the remainder of the latter's appointment (Vogel [1982], 400); cf. Syme ([1983], 203) who considers that he may have been appointed proconsul in his own right.

[19] The sole attested equestrian placed in charge of Asia following the execution of the rebellious proconsul Civica Cerialis (R. H. Lacey, *The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian: Their Careers, with Some Notes on Hadrian's Reforms*, PhD Thesis Princeton 1917, Chapter 1 no. 4).

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